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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 26, 1900.

The Week.

Either the dispatch from Minister Conger is a most gigantic fraud, or the civilized world has been fed on gigantic lies for the past month. On its face, the tale is perfectly plain and straightforward. Minister Wu sends a dispatch to Pekin containing a cipher message to Mr. Conger; it is delivered, and an answer, also in the State Department code, is returned. Forgeries, as the State Department concludes, seem to be out of the question. Except on the theory of superhuman cunning and duplicity on the part of the Chinese, we are bound to believe that Minister Conger, and, presumably, the other diplomats, were alive, though in grievous peril, ten days ago. One inference seems certain. To have held out so long, the foreigners must have had aid, open or secret, from natives. The Japanese Minister's message of June 29, which was the latest official news we had, spoke of the food and ammunition of the besieged being desperately low. Somehow they must have got fresh resources. Another element of hope is the probability that mob frenzy, balked of its prey so long, would sullenly subside, or be more easily controlled or diverted by wiser heads. Still, the world at large has not accepted the Conger dispatch as authentic, and now that communication with Pekin seems freer, Secretary Hay is making another effort to hear from our Minister.

Passing by the acute features of the Chinese crisis—the harrowing doubt, that is, whether the foreigners in Pekin are alive and may yet be rescued—the present position of the Powers as respects China is not unlike that which they held towards Japan in 1864. In that year joint action was taken to force Japan to reopen the inland sea, which had been, in violation of treaties, closed to foreign vessels by hostile daimios. A united demonstration having been agreed upon by Great Britain, France, the United States, and the Netherlands, a memorandum was issued by the representatives of those nations, setting forth the provocation to their action and defining its purpose. One article bound the allies severally, while acting together to maintain treaty rights, "neither to ask for nor to accept any concession of territory, nor any exclusive advantage whatever, either in the open ports or elsewhere in Japan." Some such *protocole de désintéressement* is believed to be a part of the proposal which the French Government is now urging upon the Powers, in respect to the international interference in China. That a majority of them would sign it is undoubted. If France would, as is implied, England certainly would, and so would the United States, and Italy, and Holland. Germany would be more doubtful.

Gov. Roosevelt caught up in his speech at St. Paul the idle chatter (to borrow a favorite phrase of his own) of the newspapers about our course in China being on all fours with our course in the Philippines. Conversely, he said, the Anti-Imperialists who condemn what has been done in the Philippines, ought also to condemn, instead of praising as they do, the policy of our country in China. That they do not is simply because they are not "logical," asserted the Rough Rider and the still rougher reasoner. Now, what is our present policy in China? It is, after doing what we can to rescue and protect our own citizens, to find a native government with which we can coöperate, and to which we can turn over responsibility and the work of administration. Secretary Hay has clung to this determination from the start. He has done it in the face of ridicule and opposition, both at home and abroad. Where was his Chinese Government? If none existed, we must create one. The idea of division and of foreign control of local government was monstrous. It would mean millions of treasure and rivers of blood. We must stand one side and let China be governed by the Chinese. To that ultimate policy this country, and with it apparently the European Powers, is committed. But did we search for a native government in the Philippines? Yes, but only to strangle it! Did we look anxiously for native leaders able to take up the work of local administration? Yes, but only to hunt them to the mountains like wild beasts! If we could discover such a body in China now, we should declare it a crime against civilization for the Powers not to utilize and support it. But we wiped the Malolos Congress out of existence. What we profess to be seeking in China with the deepest anxiety, we had ready to our hands in the Philippines, and there raged against it and destroyed it as if *we* had been Boxers.

The dispatches from the Philippine Islands continue to be made up of the most grotesquely inconsistent statements. A grand peace festival at Manila is announced, at which there will be games and banquets. Gen. MacArthur is said to approve of the plan. The festival is intended especially to celebrate the proclamation of amnesty. It is a month since the proclamation was issued, and Gen. MacArthur says that it is having a very great moral effect. True, hardly any of the natives have accepted amnesty; but he thinks that they are beginning to appreciate the benevolence of our intentions. The dispatch continues with the statement that campaigning is very active. Two hundred natives were recently attacked by our troops, who killed seventy of them without suffering any casualties. It is further stated in the dispatch that reports show the greatest military activity throughout the islands. Two hundred rebels have been killed since the last report. The censor at Manila evidently needs to pay more attention to his duties, and we fear that he either has no sense of humor, or else is tolerating jokes concerning the policy of the Administration which are not in good taste.

Senator Hoar continues to exhibit a touching faith that President McKinley will presently grant independence to the Filipinos. It is like the confidence of a Christian martyr that his heathen persecutor would be converted. The President, says Mr. Hoar, "has undertaken to subdue the Philippine Islands," and in this has "made a great mistake, both of principle and of policy"; but, you see, he has promised the survivors "self-government," and the Senator is certain that "independence will surely follow." By this invincible logic it appears that the Republican party and its President are the real champions of Philippine independence. Anyhow, Senator Hoar has one sure comfort—the reckless Bryan refused to defeat the abominable treaty which the good McKinley made. "Mr. Bryan caused the treaty, which without him would have been defeated, to be ratified." It is painful to be obliged to take away from a man in Mr. Hoar's great straits his one resource, but it is necessary to remind him that Mr. Bryan could not have defeated the treaty even if he had desired to do so. He might have caused its postponement to the new Senate, coming in on March 4, 1899, but then it would surely have been ratified. This was notorious at the time. The Republican managers allowed the treaty to be brought to a vote only when they were assured of votes enough to ratify. One way in which they secured votes was by demonstrating to doubters that the treaty was, in any case, certain to be ratified after March 4. Mr. Bryan might have adjourned the ultimate ratification; he could not have prevented it. The beloved McKinley had him and Senator Hoar down.

In reply to Mr. Boutwell's criticisms of his course, Senator Hoar says that he is now doing just what ought to have been expected of him from the first. He never said that he would vote against

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McKinley. He did expose the wickedness and folly of a policy of bloodshed and conquest in the Philippines; but he never went so far as to say that he would not vote to keep in power the Administration which maintained this policy. He showed with impressive eloquence that this policy was ruinous to our country, hostile to our traditions, and fatal to the cause of popular government. In converting our republic into an empire, it extinguished the last hope of mankind, and, according to his description, nothing more unprincipled, more wantonly wicked, could be imagined. But he now blandly denominates this policy a "mistake," and fancies that the Republicans show signs of being sorry for it. When he talks of the Democrats, he is not so tender in his choice of words. He does not call the rebellion of the Southern States a mistake, but a crime; slavery was a crime, and the Democrats have attempted the crime of debauching the currency. The ethical distinction between a mistake and a crime, according to Senator Hoar, depends on a party distinction. A wrong act done by one party is a mistake; done by the other party it is a crime. George Washington and the Convention over which he presided made a mistake, Senator Hoar says, when they provided for the return of fugitive slaves to their masters; but the Constitution should not therefore be denounced as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." But what view are fugitive slaves and struggling Filipinos to take of such "mistakes"? If they call them crimes, is their language "harsh"? And what fundamental "mistake" is going to make Senator Hoar a come-outer from his party, if denying the right of man to self-government in the Philippines will not?

The delay in procuring the extradition of Neely, the postal official accused of embezzlement in Cuba, shows the difficulty of the position which the United States Government occupies in that island. Congress explicitly declared that the people of Cuba were free and independent, and in the treaty with Spain great care was taken that our sovereignty should not be asserted. At the same time the sovereignty of Spain was totally extinguished. Since sovereignty resides neither in Spain nor in the United States, it would seem to reside in the people of Cuba. But this people has no organized government, and, without such government, sovereignty cannot be recognized at law. It must be embodied in certain human beings before the law can operate. The Administration is fond of dwelling on the appalling consequences of not asserting our own sovereignty in the Philippines, after that of Spain was overthrown. It contends that it was absolutely necessary, in order to prevent anarchy, that sovereignty should be assumed by us, although every one knows that the Filipinos had an organized government, while the Cubans had not. Whether these consequences are appalling or not, we are face to face with them in Cuba. We cannot assert our own sovereignty there, and we will not let the Cubans assert theirs. Under such circumstances, to undertake the extradition of criminals to Cuba is about as difficult as it would be to deliver them to a tribe of Eskimos in Alaska. There is, of course, no treaty with Cuba providing for extradition, nor any Cuban officer to whom delivery can be made. Congress has passed an act, undeniably of an *ex-post-facto* character, providing for extradition; but unless some organized body independent of our Government is prepared to accept that act, it amounts simply to dealing with ourselves. We may call it extradition, but it is evidently nothing but the transfer of an accused person from the jurisdiction of one department of our Government to that of another.

Judge Lacombe's decision on one feature of this case does not go far to clear it up. He held merely that the presentation of an indictment was not sufficient evidence to justify extradition, and his further remarks seem to be *obiter dicta*. He finds it impossible to think that our occupation of Cuba, constitutional in its inception, "may not continue to secure the lives and property of American citizens within that territory." This may be conceded, but it is irrelevant. We cannot get away from the fact that our occupation of Cuba is a military occupation; that whatever government exists there is the creation of our military power; and that the so-called Cuban judges are merely subordinates of our military officers, administering what are called laws, but what are essentially military orders. The system is a system of martial law. Had Neely been caught in Cuba, the Cuban courts might have tried him, and we need not contend now that American citizens cannot be tried by court-martial when they offend against military regulations in a locality where such regulations are supreme. But the question here is whether an American citizen can be seized in this country, where there is no claim that martial law prevails, and sent to a province where our civil laws do not apply, to be tried there by what is practically a military commission. The Milligan case is considered not to be in point by Judge Lacombe, but the principle there established cannot be easily avoided. We do not regard Mr. Neely as the brightest flower of American civilization; but his personality is no reason for abandoning the constitutional safeguards of liberty. It may, however, furnish a good reason for abandoning an inconsistent and illogical position in Cuba; and if his proceedings lead to that result, we shall regard him as an illustration of the maxim that private vices may be public benefits.

Although the Presidential campaign thus far has been rather unenlivening, there are a few indications here and there that the great quadrennial convulsion is at hand. No such pathetic scene, for example, would have been possible at any other time as the reappearance, a few days ago, of the present Commissioner-General of Immigration at the weekly meeting of District Assembly 49 of the Knights of Labor. Mr. Powderly's return to the quarters from which he was forced to beat a somewhat precipitate and undignified retreat, a few years ago, seems to have been in the nature of a penitential pilgrimage. We have a touching picture of him in the act of kissing the charter of the sacred order; and we are informed that, with tears in his eyes, he addressed his former associates, expressing his regrets that he had ever left the organization, and his wishes that he were a member in good standing to-day. Whether these regrets were shared by his hearers, is not revealed; but it is hardly likely that the present generation of Knights, few of whom have been provided with Government jobs, regarded the eminent backslider with appropriate seriousness. They may have been uncharitable enough to recall that the present Commissioner-General has been credited with entering into a contract with Mr. Hanna to deliver the labor vote to the Republican party for value received. It is true that the Knights of Labor is an insignificant organization now; that it is sadly reduced in numbers, torn with dissensions, and of little influence among workingmen. It is also true that Mr. Powderly was more or less forcibly ejected from its counsels, a number of years ago; and that his unsolicited appearance with the olive branch now may seem slightly indelicate. Still, when the well-salaried places of the Commissioner-General and a host of relatives and personal retainers are at stake, he cannot afford to be over nice; and if a little snivelling will suffice to turn a few votes into the proper channel, why should Mr. Powderly, of all men in the world, hesitate to do his duty?

Bryan's chances do not appear so good anywhere else in the Central West as in Indiana. That State has repeatedly gone Democratic when large Republican majorities were given by its neighbors, and it would not be strange if the same thing should happen again this year. At the same time it would seem only natural that the same influences which operate in Indiana should be felt also in other States in that section. Indeed, there are already signs that Bryan will run decidedly better in Illinois this year than in 1896. A certain proportion of the Gold Democrats are ready to accept him now,

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though apparently not so large a percentage as in Indiana. But what worries the Republican managers much more is the attitude of the workingmen. The labor troubles in Chicago are not yet settled, and there is a large labor vote which is by no means satisfied with "McKinley prosperity." The chief reliance of the Republicans is upon the German vote. They admit that this element is much disaffected over the Philippine policy of the Administration, but they hope that the free-coinage plank in the Kansas City platform will drive it back to the Republican party.

Republican organs in the East have been a good deal surprised by the statement of Chairman Dick of the Ohio Republican State Committee, that the President's own State must be regarded as doubtful this year, and that the party had better also not regard Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota as sure States. The majorities for McKinley four years ago were so large in each of these six States, except Indiana, that most Eastern people have considered them certain to go Republican again in 1900, even if the majorities should not be so great. There is plenty of evidence that Bryan has a better standing in that part of the country now than he had at the same stage of the canvass in 1896. In Indiana, for example, a considerable number of the Gold Democrats of four years ago have already declared for Bryan, among them a bank President and the President of the Board of Health of Indianapolis, and two judges in Spencer and Logansport; and a well-informed Indianapolis citizen is of opinion that the bulk of this vote throughout the State will go that way. "The financial plank in the Kansas City platform was a tough dose," says this authority, "but many make themselves believe that it won't amount to anything." Our informant thinks that "the union of all the Bryan elements, Democrats, Populists, free-silver cranks, and 'scalawags' of all kinds, is very complete in Indiana," and that this union now seems likely to poll more votes than McKinley, towards whom a large number of Republicans are indifferent.

That the Republicans are in danger of losing the next House of Representatives is frankly admitted by Chairman Babcock of their Congressional Committee. The Opposition start with the great advantage of about 120 seats from Southern States in which the Republicans make no fight, and thus have two-thirds of a majority from districts which are practically uncontested. They need to pick up only sixty more from the rest of the country in order to control the body. They came so near this in 1898 that changes in eight close districts would have left the Republicans in a minority. In one respect the dominant party is worse off now than it was then. Two years ago the Gold-Standard Act had not been passed, and many Gold Democrats were inclined to support Republican candidates for Congress in order to secure its enactment, while now some of them feel that the assured sound-money majority in the Senate during the next Congress renders the financial attitude of the House less important. On the other hand, the fuller vote which a Presidential contest always brings out is likely to help the Republicans more than the Democrats as a rule.

Were all legally qualified voters to vote in North Carolina, and were their votes to be counted, it is probable that the Republicans would have a majority, and that the amendment to the Constitution which disfranchises the negroes would be rejected. This amendment, it is computed, will deprive 80,000 to 100,000 negroes of the right of suffrage. They certainly will not vote for such an amendment as this, and the whites seem to be determined that they shall not vote against it. Under forms of law, but really under duress, the negroes will thus allow themselves to be disfranchised. Gov. Russell advises the negroes to submit, lest worse befall them; and as large gangs of white men, clad in red shirts and fully armed, are parading up and down the State, and crying "white supremacy," no other course is practicable. Had not the Republican party abandoned its principles regarding the rights of man, such proceedings in the Southern States would make the North "solid"; but any protest it might make would now be answered out of its own mouth.

The Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court has rendered an important decision in support of the right of labor unions to prevent the employment of laborers to whom they object. The controversy arose between two associations of steam-fitters—the National and the Enterprise. Members of the Enterprise Union went to several buildings on which members of the National Union were working, and procured their discharge by threatening their employers. They told the employers that unless the National men were discharged, not only the Enterprise men, but also the members of other unions allied with them, would quit work. As the employers were yielding to this threat, the National Union obtained an injunction restraining them, which the Appellate Court has now dissolved. The Court observes, in the first place, that every workman has the right to say for whom and with whom he will work. This right is nothing but the constitutional right of free contract. It implies that the right may be exercised from any motive; and, the Court adds, the employer has an equally absolute right to say whom he will employ. It follows from this, that a man may refuse to work for the purpose of inducing his employer to discharge an objectionable fellow-workman. The purpose is not illegal, nor is the method. The Court then proceeds to say that if the individual workman has this right, "he does not lose it when acting with others, clothed with an equal right, so that employers may continue to say they will not employ persons who are members of labor organizations, and laborers may continue to say they will not work for employers who engage any but members of labor organizations." This decision entirely sweeps away whatever vestiges of the old conspiracy legislation, intended to prevent combinations to raise wages, were to be found in this State, and establishes the principle that an association of laborers may do whatever an individual laborer may. It is, of course, entirely inconsistent with the law against combinations in restraint of trade, known as the Anti-Trust Law, which makes it a crime to enter into any agreement that may prevent competition.

The experiment of levying special taxes on department stores is to be tried in Prussia. After the 1st of January, 1901, all merchandise is divided into four classes, and every concern which sells things belonging to more than one of these groups is to pay a graduated tax, provided its sales amount to more than $95,000 per annum, or 400,000 marks, From 400,000 to 450,000 marks, the tax is 4,000 marks. On sales between 950,000 and 1,000,000 marks, the tax is 18,000 marks, and for every additional 100,000 marks the tax is 2,000 marks. Of course this legislation is in the interest of the small shopkeepers, whose customers have found their wants better supplied by the large establishments. Some very amusing suggestions are made by the Minister of Finance in presenting this specimen of protectionism to the favored classes. He tells them that it will depend on them whether the law shall fulfil the benevolent purpose of the State. They will be expected to organize, "with self-helpful motives," such associations as will increase their power to compete with the department stores. The middlemen, "through energetic, intelligent self-help," must now, by means of cheap purchases and profitable sales, secure themselves against the competition of large capital. It does not seem to occur to the Finance Minister that to relieve one class of tradesmen of the competition of another is not to stimulate the former class to rely on their own exertions, but leads them to look for help to the Government. We have tried the experiment for a good many years in this country; but the protected interests always claim that their competitors must be taxed a little more before self-help can be put in effective operation.

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REASONS FOR A THIRD TICKET.

Whether a third Presidential ticket will be named by the Gold Democrats or the Anti-Imperialists, or by both in unison, we do not know; but that one should be named we are firmly convinced. The reason lies in the character both of the existing candidates and of the platforms upon which they stand; in the intolerable dilemma confronting thousands of citizens who refuse to make a choice between confessed evils, and who will not vote at all unless a man and principles are offered them; in the need which exists of raising a standard to which honest men can resort at present, and by which they will be prepared to stand in the future.

An extraordinary failure sharply to join issue marks the attitude of the two parties. The crucial thing is silver, cry Republicans in the East; it is not, retort the Democrats, it is Imperialism and Trusts. The issue is 16 to 1, assert Democratic orators in the mining States; not at all, rejoin Republican speakers, it is Expansion, and the flag a business investment. Each party is evidently willing to become all things to all men if by all means it may carry the election. The Republicans proclaim sound principles of finance, but an unsound theory of government. The Democrats assert the historic doctrine of republican government, but would ruin the people who live under it. Neither platform is the true logical contradictory of the other. The poison of one has no separate antidote in the other. Both are deeply unsatisfactory to large numbers of our clearest heads and best lives. If such people are to have a set of political principles which they can support without qualms or quailing, they must draft it for themselves.

At the coming election probably more than two millions and a half of men will cast their first votes for President. These votes will be almost one-sixth of the total number; and as a change of one-twentieth of the votes cast is generally more than sufficient to change the result of a general election, the question how the young voters will exercise their franchise is one of deep interest to the political managers. No very marked change is likely to take place in the habits and prejudices of the older citizens. They will vote in the main for the candidate of the party with which they have been accustomed to act; how their sons will vote is not easily foretold. But how they ought to vote, they will be told by hundreds of advisers, and one of the maxims which the worldly-wise will try to recommend to them is, "Don't throw away your vote." Whoever manifests a disposition to be politically independent, to disregard party lines and regular nominations, is sure to be warned by "practical" men that he is going to waste his strength and his influence if he votes for any one who is not likely to be elected.

The principle of this advice is simple enough. There are two candidates, one of whom is sure to be elected, and a vote for either of them will contribute to his election. A vote for any other candidate cannot elect him; and as it would have been cast for one of the possibly successful candidates, had it not been cast for one whose success is hopeless, it is in effect a vote against him whose cause it might have aided. The next President, it is now said, will be either McKinley or Bryan; and the only sensible course for the independent voter to follow is to make up his mind which of these two he prefers and to support him. Many of those who urge this course admit that it implies a choice of evils. They confess that they like neither the actual policy of the Republican party, nor the probable policy of the Democratic party; but they insist that as one party or the other will direct the affairs of the country, the good citizen should decide which party will on the whole direct these affairs with the greatest wisdom, or the least folly, and support the candidate presented by that party.

Plausible as this reasoning sounds, it involves a number of fallacies. In the first place, there are many States in which the result of the election is practically as certain as the rising of the sun. The number of independent voters is so small as to be incapable of affecting the result. Every Democrat who casts a vote for Bryan in most of the New England States throws it away; every Republican who casts a vote for McKinley in most of the Southern States does the same. When this is pointed out to those who protest against the folly of throwing away votes, they shift their ground. Ah! they say, you must consider the moral effect. That is exactly what we propose to consider, and it involves the examination of several other contingencies besides the personality of the next President. The moral effect on whom, and on what? Why, if McKinley's vote falls off in New England, it will have a discouraging effect on the Republican party. It may not prevent his election, but it will make the party leaders feel that their tenure of power is uncertain. The reply to this is, that if it is true, it is altogether to be desired. If these leaders believe that they are losing the favor of the people, they may be induced to mend their ways; and perhaps they can be induced by no other consideration.

In the States where the result is certain, therefore, the independent voter may feel that he not only is not throwing away his vote, but is accomplishing all that he can hope to accomplish. He is helping to produce a moral effect which may be ultimately of the greatest advantage to the country. He is manifesting a spirit of discontent which may terrify his rulers and lead them to bring forth fruits meet for repentance. Under every form of government, rulers are on the watch for signs of popular feeling. Every despot trembles when there are indications that his subjects are no longer submissive, and every ruler in a free country will alter his policy when he is convinced that, if he does not, he will be turned out of office. In States of this class, it may be claimed that the most emphatic way to condemn the McKinley Administration is to vote for Bryan. Such a claim is entirely mistaken. Such votes would properly be regarded as indicating approval of Bryan's policy, the last thing which many independent voters could think of approving. To vote for a third candidate is to condemn both policies, and to warn both parties that, unless they are changed, a third party may be called into being that will respect protests against misgovernment.

Still, it may be contended, the case is different in the doubtful States. There the independent voter must admit that, in some States at least, if he votes for a third candidate, he is practically voting for Bryan. But the case is by no means so simple. Regarding it arithmetically, we may assume that the independents have been hitherto attached to the two parties in equal proportions. On this assumption, if they unite on a third candidate, their action would not affect the result, for both parties would lose equally. Regarding actual conditions, we might say that in Kentucky and Maryland and New Jersey the independent voters have been drawn chiefly from the Democratic party. If they do not vote for a third candidate, they may be expected to vote for Bryan. In Michigan and Wisconsin, the independent voters may be drawn from the Republicans, and if they do not have their own candidate they may vote for McKinley. With the new issues, these matters are highly speculative, and those who are proclaiming that a vote for a third candidate is a vote for Bryan are assuming too much. In one State such a vote may be in effect a vote for Bryan; but in another State it may be practically a vote for McKinley.

These arithmetical calculations are of deep interest to the party managers, but they are not decisive with the independent voter. The assertion that it is his duty to choose between two evils, he may meet with a flat negative. He does not admit that the country will be better off under Republican rule than under Democratic rule, because he does not feel sure that it will be. The Democrats may do temporary harm, while the Republicans may do permanent harm. Very few persons, in our judgment; very few intelligent persons, in their own judgment, know what is going to happen to the country. Our statesmen tell us that destiny has taken charge of our government, and that human wisdom and experience furnish us no guidance. There are too many possibilities for certainty

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to exist. Judgments and opinions neutralize one another; and the number of persons who await the result of the election with a sort of hopeless indifference is surprisingly large. If McKinley is elected, they say, it may deliver us from Bryan and his wearisome policy of repudiation; but if Bryan is elected, the country may be rescued from Imperialism and Militarism. Persons who feel in this way are likely to think their votes may prove to be thrown away, if cast for either of these candidates.

We have touched on this subject only superficially; for the conscientious voter looks more than four years ahead. Worse than the election of McKinley, worse than that of Bryan, would be the extinction of the spirit of independence. The hide-bound partisan, who looks only at the party emblem on his ballot, if we regard the matter rationally, is the man who throws away his vote. It represents no intelligent consideration, no conscientious resolution. We know that parties have been defeated and dissolved in the past, and that new parties have taken their place. These results are due to the course of those who were accused of throwing away their votes. They threw them away for Frémont; but four years later Lincoln was elected. Our material condition may be better if McKinley is elected; but what of the future? If the independent vote is very large this year, will it not render that future far more hopeful? And if it will, who will say that this vote is thrown away?

EUROPEAN AGGRESSIONS IN CHINA.

Whatever the causes of the terrible uprising in China, something has certainly happened for which the outside world was entirely unprepared. The Mantchu Government was supposed to be on its last legs, the military force of the empire contemptible, and national spirit non-existent. All at once the civilized world finds itself face to face with a people in arms. Yet Europe has only herself to thank for the present reaction against foreigners. Heedless of warnings not to push ahead too fast, the various Governments, each fearing to be left behind in the race, have demanded concession after concession, and, by virtue of the authority conferred by ships and guns, have established themselves on Chinese soil.

How much wiser would have been the policy laid down by our own State Department, it is now easy to see. If China had been left alone by the European family of colony-hunters, she would in due time have transformed herself. There was a liberal and enlightened party among her own rulers. The war with Japan had battered down the walls of Chinese exclusion, and opened the country to foreign trade and the introduction of machinery. The race has always been noted for its commercial activity; the Chinaman is one to whom the argument of material advantage appeals with peculiar force. Native laborers flocked into the factories at Shanghai as soon as they were built; foreign railroads and steamships, once introduced, found a large traffic waiting for them. Missionaries and travellers have for many years been penetrating inland, encountering on the whole less race hostility than might have been expected. Too swift change in the case of an old and fixed society is not desirable; it produces convulsions. But if the outsiders had had a little more patience and less greed, China would have found her own road.

The history of the relations between China and Europe during the present century shows a series of aggressions, provoked generally by the fatuousness, pride, and ignorance of Chinese officials, and pressed by powerful and selfish governments able to dictate their own terms. The record begins with the opium war, entered into by England in consequence of the efforts on the part of China to prevent the sale of the drug to her people. This war came to an end with the treaty of Nankin, in 1842, which ceded Hong Kong to England, opened five ports to foreign trade, and promised the payment of a money indemnity. In 1857 England again began hostilities, the immediate cause of the quarrel being the affair of a miserable little boat, Chinese-built, Chinese-manned, and Chinese-owned, but with a British captain and a purchased British register that had expired. After a one-sidedly destructive war, the treaty of Tientsin was concluded; China again paid an indemnity, opened fourteen additional ports, and surrendered to the British more territory at Hong Kong, besides repealing all edicts against Christianity. A period of quiet followed, during which missions and trade were making their peaceful conquests. Peace was broken by the French, who set out in 1882 to develop the colonial field offered by Indo-China, and, after an obstinate war, established their hold on Tonkin, as well as their older claim on Annam. A little later, in 1886, England was allowed to extend her authority over Upper Burma.

But in comparison with what has happened since the war with Japan, all that went before was as nothing. Russia had already advanced to the Pacific, and had for some years been suspected of a willingness to pick up a good naval station at the first chance. Japan, by the treaty of Shimonoseki, signed in 1895, was to receive the Liao-Tung peninsula, with Formosa and the Pescadores, and to be left a free hand in Korea, where China renounced all claim to suzerainty. But Russia had no desire to see a new rival intrenched on the mainland, and, backed by France and Germany, commanded the victor to withdraw from the peninsula in the interests of peace. China wished, if possible, to escape the payment of a heavy money indemnity, knowing that a large foreign debt would mean of necessity foreign interference in her affairs, and tried to offer to Japan as a substitute for Liao-Tung the concession of the Pekin-Tientsin Railway. But this suited Russia no better than the cession of territory. She insisted on a money compensation, and by this expedient drove Japan away and picked up the prize of victory. For China was now, in spite of herself, forced into Russia's open arms. The guarantee of the latter country enabled her to sell the bonds to pay off the war indemnity; and the *quid pro quo* was permission to run the Trans Siberian Railroad through Mantchuria, and to occupy the province for that purpose. This brought Russia to the Great Wall. France rewarded herself for her unsolicited services in the affair by a "rectification" of the frontier line of her colony in the South, and by railroad and commercial concessions. As for Germany, her bill was presented a little later—with interest.

The French advance stirred up England. The consequence was a new Anglo-Chinese convention, signed early in 1897. Another "rectification" took place, this time in Burma. But more important was the opening to foreign navigation of the Yang-tse-Kiang. This was a very valuable privilege, in view of the populous territory drained by this great river. And the advantage thus obtained by England was one in which every other nation could participate. Consequently Germany's action, in November of the same year, in seizing the Kiao-Chau peninsula, precipitated a storm. The dismemberment of China could bring only injury to English interests. Whatever fell to foreign Powers would be taken into a protective system, and English trade would be shut out. Under these circumstances England's policy quickly defined itself—to stand for the integrity of the Chinese empire and the open door. But could she carry out this policy? Germany, it is true, declared Kiao-Chau a free port, but she lost no time in establishing her "sphere of influence" in Shantung, one of the most populous provinces of China, within which she claimed an exclusive right to build railroads and open mines. And, lastly, Russia proceeded in March, 1898, to gather the remainder of her harvest by forcing from China the cession of Port Arthur and Talien-Wan, with permission to connect them with the so-called East Chinese Railway. The Trans-Siberian had found its coveted terminal. As a counter-step to this advance of Russia, England took Wei-Hai-Wei.

In this general game of grab, Italy had been left out. Last fall she tried to follow the popular example, and to make up for her earlier lack of enterprise by demanding Sanmun Bay, and a sphere of influence in the province of Chekiang.

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But she came too late to the feast. The supposed corpse had begun to stir. The September revolution had taken place; the Dowager Empress had seized the reins of power. A new spirit began to manifest itself, and it soon became plain that this reactionary party was a party of national defence. The Boxer movement grew more serious, and the consuls began to press the Government to restore order. At last, the deluge. The strangest thing in the whole affair seems to have been the extraordinary inability of the foreign Ministers at Pekin to see what was coming. For once at least Western diplomacy was badly overmatched.

THE SOUTH AND THE PHILIPPINES.

A strange delusion has taken possession of the South, or at all events of the manufacturing portion of it, that the holding of the Philippine Islands will be good for trade, and especially for cotton-spinning. It is supposed by many that our cotton goods could not conveniently reach China without a place for storage and warehousing, and that the Philippines are in the very locality where such facilities are most needed. A glance at a terrestrial globe will disclose the fact that for the trade of northern China, whither the great bulk of our cotton exports go, the Philippines are at least fifteen hundred miles out of the way, and that we should not use them for warehousing purposes, even if we wanted intermediate storage, at all. As regards southern China, Hong Kong is much nearer the point of distribution, and is used by us for storage purposes now more or less. This is a British island adjacent to China, and is a free port. Not only can we store anything that we wish to store there, but we can enter our goods without the payment of customs duties. The most carefully devised and costly system of warehousing could furnish us nothing better than this. If we could call back all the money we paid to Spain for the Philippines, and all that we have spent in trying to conquer the Filipinos, we could buy nothing better with it than the facilities which Hong Kong offers us at all times at a small rental. But mankind in gross does not usually appreciate that which costs nothing. Individuals may, but nations seldom do so.

What is true of Hong Kong as a warehouse for southern China is true of Japan for northern, except that Japan is farther from the mainland. It is nearer, however, than the Philippines are. Japan, like Hong Kong, offers us all the warehousing facilities that we can use for a merely trifling rental.

But have we ever suffered in our trade with China for want of warehouses, or half-way houses? Certainly not. The lack of them was never thought of till a reason was wanted to justify our holding the Philippines. The truth is, that the more warehousing, and half-way-housing, and transshipping a merchant does, the less are his profits. There is nothing that he dreads more. One of the main objects of an Isthmian canal is to avoid these things and to land the exported goods at the door of the consignee, avoiding all intermediate charges. If we had had the Philippine Islands all our lives, we should never have landed a bale of goods there intended for northern China—probably none for any country except the Philippines. Ah, says some would-be spinner of yarns for export, we shall at all events have the market of the Philippines themselves. Doubtful! Did you not read Bishop Potter's account of his visit to a cotton factory in Manila? Did you not hear him say that the bright Filipino boys and girls learned the art of cotton-spinning in one-quarter of the time required by the ordinary European? Who is to guarantee that they will not be sending cotton goods our way before we send any their way? Shall we prevent this by a tariff? Who will guarantee that a tariff levied by one part of the United States against another part will be held valid by the Supreme Court? Was not that question "Quigged" in the Philadelphia Convention the other day?

Like most popular delusions, this one is strong in proportion to its utter lack of support in reason or experience. It is like the curious notion that although our exports are increasing by leaps and bounds, and our ship-yards are so full of work that we cannot place an order for an ocean steamer to be built inside of two years, we must pay subsidies out of the Treasury for the carrying of our goods to foreign markets. Yet the belief is quite prevalent in the South that we are to gain some great commercial advantage by holding the Philippines. The *modus operandi* is not pointed out, but the belief is all the stronger for the hazy atmosphere which surrounds it.

This state of facts leads up to the query: "Why, then, did the Southern politicians in the Kansas City Convention acquiesce in a platform which made the independence of the Philippines the paramount issue of the campaign?" There are two possible answers to this question. One is, that the manufacturing interest, which is infected with this craze, is outweighed by other Southern interests not so infected, and that these other interests are as much opposed to Expansion and Imperialism as the Kansas City platform makes out. The other is, that Anti-Imperialism was seized upon not as a matter of political conviction, but as a handy thing for a party issue, and that if Bryan should be elected, it would be kicked to the winds, and the Philippines retained nevertheless. The language of the platform makes the latter interpretation possible. It says: "We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give the Filipinos, first, a stable form of government; second, independence; third, protection from outside interference," etc. These words, as we have previously shown, do not commit Mr. Bryan, or his party, to the granting of independence to the Filipinos within any definite period. Are we to suppose that these words were not chosen with the same care as the other parts of the platform? In a literary point of view, that work was extremely well done. If its framer had meant to say that independence should be granted to the Filipinos whenever they should have formed a government for themselves, he would have used words quite different from those which we find in the platform. If he meant to leave "stamping-ground" for Southern Imperialists, such as Senator Morgan of Alabama and Judge Snodgrass of Tennessee, who think that we ought to hold the Philippines for ever; if he intended to provide for delay and dispute, so that eventually the whole scheme of independence might be shelved, then the words chosen would be well adapted to that purpose. Whatever may have been the motives prompting the use of the phraseology employed, it has been whispered around with unpleasant frequency since the Convention adjourned that, in the event of Mr. Bryan's election, the question of surrendering the Philippines would not be necessarily determined thereby.

THE DISCONTENTED FARMER.

Those aggregations of figures which we call statistics are for the most part so untrustworthy as to compel us to resort to direct observation when we really wish to understand the condition of any class of our fellow-creatures. A really intelligent observer, if he is unbiassed and honest, can generally reach a much more satisfactory, and even scientific, conclusion in such matters than can be derived from census reports or other official publications. Being acquainted with these truths, Mr. C. B. Spahr, one of the editors of the *Outlook*, recently set forth on a journey for the purpose of satisfying himself, and the readers of his paper, concerning the welfare of various sorts and conditions of men. Mr. Spahr not only is an entertaining writer, but also possesses an alert and inquiring mind. His pictures of the life of divers classes of our citizens appear to be accurate representations of real conditions. They are of a nature to correct several misapprehensions, and to enable us to understand the sentiments and the demands of people with whom we are not all likely to come into personal contact. From many interesting types we select for examination a Minnesota farmer, as being, for political reasons, at present especially deserving of study.

This particular individual was an enthusiastic believer in Populism, a polit-

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ical creed of which we understand Mr. Spahr to be also a devotee, and wore "working clothes of clerical cut," while his face was "of exceptional purity of thought and warmth of sympathy." The wearer of this garb had for years ministered to a little Episcopal church, but supported his family—with considerable participation on their part, as appears in the sequel—by work on his farm. He was also President of a Farmers' Alliance. He owned a whole section, or 640 acres of land, for one-quarter of which he had paid about $500. The other three-quarters he had taken up under the Homestead Act, the Preëmption Act, and the Tree-planting Act, respectively. It is fair to infer that the cost of these quarter-sections had been about $700, bringing up the total cost of the farm to $1,200. We gather from statements elsewhere made that land in the neighborhood is now worth some $30 an acre, at which rate the farm in question would have a value of $19,000. As it maintained a herd of 100 cows and calves, and the average product of each cow was 350 pounds of butter a year, worth nearly twenty cents a pound, this valuation does not appear excessive.

It might seem "to thoughtful people in cities, who get their views from what they read," Mr. Spahr remarks, that such an advance in the price of land over what the people of the United States had sold it for was suggestive of an "unearned increment." No such suggestion is entertained for a moment by the owners of these farms—the "thoughtful people in the country, who get their views from what they see." The result of their meditations is, that the later settlers ought to be taxed for the benefits which they have received from the earlier ones. So far as they are Populists, they are particularly stern in their condemnation of such as have invested their capital in railroads with any expectation of deriving a profit from the growth of the country. They hold that the farmers are entitled not only to the increment in the value of their farms, but also to that in the value of such transportation facilities as have made the increment in the value of farming land possible. To many persons who have ventured their savings in the construction of Western railroads, such views do not seem to be altogether fair. They do not complain when a farm increases in value from $1,200 to $19,000; but they fail to see why the owners of such farms should denounce the extortions of the railroads with such fury, or get up a Populist party because of the gains of capital, which are far less than those of landowners.

But if this Populist clergyman does not afford a very striking illustration of poverty caused by corporate monopoly, so far as his land is concerned, how is it as regards his business? It seems that he had but one son, and hired but one man, except in the busy seasons. His method of "supporting his family by work on the farm" was explained by himself. "My wife and girls," he said, "until the older girls went away to school, took entire charge of the milking and butter-making." We are not informed of the proportion of calves to cows, but if we assume that half the herd was cows, we have a butter product of 17,500 pounds per annum, worth possibly $3,500 and certainly $3,000. The surplus calves from such cows as these ought to pay for all the hired help; and the other products from such a farm as this ought to bring in a very considerable sum. On the whole, we find it rather difficult to squeeze out a tear over the misery caused in this instance by the grinding tyranny of the money power. The advocacy of Populism by such a particularly thriving and prosperous victim of capitalistic oppression as this impresses us as a proceeding of much audacity. We feel now better able to understand the sympathetic greeting extended to Mr. Van Wyck and Mr. Croker, with their Ice-Trust holdings, at Kansas City. The thoughtful people in the country who get their views from what they see, and not from what they read, recognized those kindred spirits as hostile to inordinate gains—when not made by themselves.

For a brief moment we indulged a hope that this Populist clergyman might be an exceptional character, but Mr. Spahr rudely dispelled it by quoting the dividends paid by the creameries which the farmers have set up. During the intervals when they were not denouncing the Trusts for raising prices, or cursing the railroads for not lowering freights, or berating the merchants for making too great profits, they were setting up creameries without the investment of a dollar in cash, and making up the capital out of the profits of a single year's business. Fifty per cent., we are assured, is less rather than more than the usual dividend rate of these establishments, whose stock is entirely "water." This surpasses anything yet disclosed in the history of "Trusts" in this part of the country, and when we read that farmers used to sell their butter for twelve cents a pound, but now get twenty for it, we are quite overpowered by our emotions. We have heard stories of rural astuteness, and been warned against the guile of the country horse-dealer; but we had not suspected that the Western farmers were making quite such a good thing out of the public as they appear to be. The sufferings of the Populists are evidently not without mitigation. The "silver" lining of their cloud has its significance; and Populism has in it some of the wisdom of the serpent.

THE PASSION PLAY OF 1900.

OBERAMMERGAU, June 30, 1900.

Mr. W. T. Stead has done a genuine service to the English and American spectators of the Passion Play by his excellent, practically verbatim translation of the text. English and German are printed on opposite pages, and it is easy, even for those not absolutely familiar with the language of the fatherland, to follow the different characters in their clear and forceful speech, by the additional aid of his faithful interpretation.

The great tide of American tourists, however, had yesterday not turned fully toward the little village in the Bavarian Tyrol, although it comes nearer the flood with each performance. July and August will probably witness inundations. The crowds thronging the streets just before the play are undeniably cosmopolitan, but just now more German is heard than any other language. They have necessitated an extra performance not provided for in advance by any published schedule. The Christus of this season is no longer the famous Josef Mayer, who made in 1870-71, 1880, and 1890 so profound an impression; but his successor, young Anton Lang, a potter of Oberammergau, is filling the rôle with ever increasing success, his nervousness during the earlier performances in May having largely disappeared, and his face showing even greater adaptability to the part than the rugged countenance of Mayer. Lang's voice is gentle, his expression peculiarly spiritual. The former postman's daughter, Anna Flunger, makes a lovable Mary, also for the first time this season. She is but nineteen, and two or three days before the first performance her father died; her own sorrow thus lends additional pathos to her sweet face. Bertha Wolf, the Mary Magdalen, is a handsome blonde with superb hair, and an insistent vitality truly German. She is the daughter of an inn-keeper. Both she and the other Mary made a very strong impression, though the voice of neither can be said to be really fine. John and Judas are the only prominent characters taken this season by those who impersonated them during former years. It is whispered that Peter Rendl (John) would have been given the Christus part in 1900 if he could have produced the proper sort of beard. But his John is an almost perfect representation. Johann Zwink, too, the Judas, shows marked dramatic ability, his portrayal rising at times to a fervor and intensity entirely thrilling. And hardly less strong are Caiaphas, Pilate, and Herod, each newly represented this season; Herod by Rochus Lang, father of Anton.

Leaving Munich very early in the morning, we were able to reach the village several hours ahead of incoming crowds. From Murnau and the Staffel See, the scenery grows increasingly beautiful and inspiring. At length, mountains partly snow-covered slip into the horizon, steeper cliffs narrow toward the road, where wayside shrines become more frequent. A little town on a green plain beyond the swiftly flowing Ammer, surrounded by stupendous heights, Oberammergau lay in fitful shade and sunshine as we approached the new station. Villagers and peasants along the way had shown great interest in the incoming train, waving hands and kerchiefs in greeting, and smiling as we looked out. Long-haired, sweet-faced boys met us on the platform, to point the way to the town and carry the satchels.

A drive to Ettal and its wonderful church

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occupied a part of the afternoon, but I spent much time in calls upon the chief actors in the play and upon Father Schroeder, the parish priest. The gentle Mary was waiting upon the supper-table when I found her, for every house in the village is opened to guests during these important days; and John was selling his own exquisite wood-carvings. The house where Anton Lang lives with his father is, like so many mountain homes, under the same roof with the stable, and soft-eyed cows looked out wonderingly from a dark room next the one where I talked with the Christus. Father Schroeder has for years studied most carefully the effect of the play upon his parishioners. With only 1,400 inhabitants, not less than 685 of whom have parts in the performance, Oberammergau cannot fail to be profoundly affected. The very spirit of the region has been imbued by such love for the play that it has actually taken possession of these simple people, heart and soul, for generations; and a highmindedness and devotion seem to go with them in all their every-day pursuits. As the good priest says, for five years the whole village speaks of little but the last Passion, and for the next five of nothing but the coming one—of the larger question whether or not the necessary royal permission to present it once more can be obtained, and the equally stirring one as to who will take the principal parts. To give or not to give the Passion Play is first put to vote by the burghers in the Town Hall, as a mere matter of form, for of a possible negative no one ever thinks. Naturally those playing certain parts become thoroughly devoted to them, and are touchingly unconscious that time at last unfits them. Often, however, the part of older persons in the play is assigned to those who have grown past the younger characters. Josef Mayer is thus taken from the Christus representation, and given the important and frequent prologues to recite. To his rendering of the sonorous lines his abundant white hair and beard and majestic bearing give an immense impressiveness. And Thomas Rendl, formerly Pilate, is transferred to the part of Peter, still impetuous and virile, but appropriately older.

At four o'clock in the morning of the day when the play is to be given, the musical jangle of bells from the Moorish-looking church tower calls to early mass, and even at that hour the streets are beginning to fill with an international crowd, many pilgrims arriving on foot from beyond the mountains, their bundles slung over their shoulders. At eight the play begins, in the enormous theatre, where now every seat is numbered, quality and price corresponding. As it progresses, the impression of a really superb mastery of detail grows more pervasive. It is not a play being acted, but a tragedy is lived before us. Not a mechanical flaw appears, and the whole great drama moves on with stately gravity and power. The audience of nearly 4,000 breathes as one person, as scene after scene unfolds and the inevitable end draws near.

In many respects the music is well fitted, composed in 1814 by Rochus Dedler, "teacher, clerk, chorister, and organist" of the village. The melodies are often suggestive of Haydn and Mozart in their simple sweetness, the harmonies sometimes of great dignity, rising occasionally to dramatic climaxes. The orchestra is quite out of sight; and the chorus of thirty-four voices seems hardly forceful enough at times. The fact that the stage is all open to the sky partly accounts for the lack of resonance, but it adds in equal proportion to the scenic setting, as cedar-clothed summits of actual mountains appear beyond the foreground, and high-altitude cumulus clouds gather or disperse as the day goes on.

One of the most amazing features of the performance consists in the frequent tableaux—pictures from Old Testament stories, foreshadowing later events; an idea of the good priest Daisenberger, who about 1860 recreated the Passion Play from the crude form in which it had existed through hundreds of years into the present splendid drama. Often with hundreds of persons posed in striking attitudes, the curtain remaining up for two and sometimes three minutes, not a finger trembled, hardly an eye altered its gaze, from tiny children to old men. And the beautiful conceptions of color and form embodied in these living pictures are no less remarkable.

At noon the great audience disperses for luncheon, reassembling by one o'clock or soon after, and the drama moves on to its tragic ending. It had been a partly shaded day, but at the march to Calvary brilliant sunshine streamed suddenly down upon the stage, lighting up with tremendous effect the pathetic figure bending under its heavy burden, and the magnificent Oriental dresses of the jeering crowd. But after that the sky grew darker, and at the last fatal moment nature conspired with the actors, and heavy clouds moved up over the actual sky, adding weird and terrible impressiveness to a scene already tragic with this story of the centuries. At the final transfiguration the sun once more burst forth in a glory of level rays, and the great cumulus masses clinging about the mountains took on soft roseate and golden tints, anticipating sunset.

An irresistible burst of applause filled the great building as the stately final chorus ended, and the procession moved away—the first allowed all day, and even this was sternly frowned down by many, but it could not be restrained. To-day the crowds have gone, but only to make way for another mighty concourse arriving to-night for Sunday's performance. And Monday still another will provide for the left-out thousands of yesterday. The great story is still a living, daily fact at Oberammergau, and hardly less to the visitor and spectator than to the dweller and performer.

"To have lived through such a day
Seems longevity enough."

MABEL LOOMIS TODD.

AFTER PETER THE GREAT.—II.

PARIS, July 11, 1900.

After the death of Peter II., the Supreme Council, which had been instituted during his short reign, assumed the right to determine the rules of the imperial succession, and chose Anna Ivanovna Empress, at the same time imposing certain conditions on her and trying thus to create a sort of Constitution. Dimitri Galitzin was the chief mover and promoter of this reform, but he encountered much opposition to his ideas among the high orthodox clergy, as well as in the ranks of the nobility.

Anna arrived at Moscow on the 10th of February, 1730. She had been for several years exiled in Courland, where she lived with her favorite Bühren. She brought a very hostile disposition towards the Dolgorukis, who pretended to be inaugurating a sort of constitutional government, all the more because the members of the Council which had been formed and which had placed her on the throne, would not permit the return of Bühren. At the funeral of Peter II., which had been long retarded, Natalie Dolgoruki was not allowed to take a place among the members of the imperial family, and she remained at home.

Anna showed her spirit at once, in proclaiming herself colonel of the Preobrazhenskoi regiment, and in pouring glasses of brandy for the soldiers herself; she received very coldly the self-instituted Supreme Council. Ostermann was behind the scenes; he had feigned illness after the election of Anna Ivanovna, but was in active correspondence with the members of the opposition to reforms and with the Tsarina herself. Anna decided to get rid of the reformers, and to assume autocratic power as her predecessors had done.

The *coup d'état* took place on the 25th of February, 1730. The palace was surrounded with troops; the Supreme Council was abolished; the letter in which Anna had declared her acceptance of the conditions imposed on her, was torn by her in presence of her officers. The fragments are still preserved, hidden in the Russian archives. It has long been considered an act of high treason to possess a copy. Constitutional reform had not been well prepared by Dimitri Galitzin; he had done nothing to bring over to his projects the most important members of the nobility, the clergy, and the army. His action was too much inspired by personal motives and by a sentiment of rivalry. In the discomfiture of plans which had for their chief object the creation of an oligarchical force destined to be a check on the autocracy of the sovereign, one thing only was saved, the law of serfdom. "Among this nobility," says Waliszewski, "now decimated and degraded, the low instincts of servility and the savage instincts of a ferocious tyranny seemed alone to survive." The very name of a constitution was proscribed for a century, and when, "a hundred years after the events of 1730, the soldiers employed in the repression of the Polish insurrection could not understand the motives of the war, they were told that the insurgents were fighting for their Constitution, and they imagined that it meant the wife of the Grand Duke Constantine, Viceroy of the country, who had married a Polish woman. Such was the end, after this long term of years, of the movement of ideas which the leaders of the eighteenth century flattered themselves they had propagated among the masses."

The Galitzins fell from their high station one after the other. The Dolgorukis were persecuted; on the 31st of October, 1739, Ivan Dolgoruki was beheaded; Catharine Dolgoruki, who had for a moment hoped to wear the imperial crown, was thrown into a convent. A brother of Ivan, Alexander, was imprisoned and executed on the 28th of October, 1740. The beginning of the reign of Anna goes in Russia under the name of the Bühren régime. When Elizabeth became Empress, she sent for Catharine Dolgoruki, and tried to marry this "fiancée of the Tsar," as she was still called. Catharine resisted long, and finally married a Scotchman, James Bruce; she died soon

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afterwards. The most touching victim of the Bühren régime was Natalie Dolgoruki. "All Russia has recited the verses dedicated to her tragic destiny." After the death of Ivan, her father, she was kept in prison for two years; she reappeared in Moscow only in 1740, on the day of the death of Anna Ivanovna. She lived some time with her brother, and, after having educated his children, entered a convent. She left brief memoirs, which have not been published.

The history of the reign of Anna Ivanovna is the history of the German favorite Bühren; they were well worthy of each other. Anna was "lazy, with moments of energy, without any culture, shrewd, but intellectually very limited, of sordid habits." The account which Waliszewski gives of her daily life is very amusing and characteristic. Bühren was a mere clerk when Anna was still in Courland, at Annenhof near Mittau (his name in many memoirs has been wrongly transformed into Biron). He was the son of an officer of the Polish army. "The lovers of Anna Ivanovna may be counted by the dozen. She certainly was much attached to Bühren, and she did not conceal it. . . . When he arrived in Russia, he brought with him, as the fruit of his very pleasant relations with the nobility of Courland, a great insensibility of heart, which, in contact with the political manners of the country, transformed itself into cruelty, into a hatred of the aristocracy, which developed itself in the struggle of Anna Ivanovna with the oligarchical party." But, having suffered even more from poverty than from pride, he was even more greedy than cruel. The Jew Liepman became his confidant and his instrument in a number of doubtful operations, among which was usury. He became Duke of Courland, in virtue of a vote of the Diet of Courland, passed under military pressure. Bühren was hated and despised by the Russians; he was a German, and did not even take the pains to learn the language of a country where, for a time, he became absolute. The new régime gave all the power to foreigners, and this explains the sentiments it inspired. M. Waliszewski says, however, that "the Russian aristocracy and nobility were responsible for this régime, which gave the power to foreigners because they themselves were incapable of taking or keeping it. These foreigners were neither men of genius nor models of virtue; but in the midst of the confusion which the unfinished work of Peter the Great had caused, they alone had, with a somewhat just intuition of the destinies of the country, the capacity and the coolness which were needful for safeguarding as well as possible its interests in this critical period."

Anna's court did not much resemble that of Louis XIV. or Louis XV.; there was as much place given in it to animals as to human beings. The birds especially had a great place: there were days when the Empress asked for hundreds of them; there were cages in all the rooms of the palace; the favorite dogs were taken care of by a genuine prince. Popular games were played in the palace; the Empress had six professional fools whose business it was to amuse her. There was an attempt, however, to imitate the manners of foreign courts; luxury in dress was substituted for the simplicity of Peter's court. Old men like Ostermann had to show themselves at times in pale pink satin clothes. The gowns of Madame Bühren cost five hundred thousand rubles a year. Champagne and burgundy replaced the coarse Russian brandy. Foreign dances, such as the minuet, alternated with the national dances. The Empress did not allow drunkenness in the palace.

We know very little of the manners of the common people at that time. We must believe that they were not much different from what they still are far away from the centres of civilization. In 1737 an epidemic of malignant fever raged in Moscow, and was attributed by the people to the presence of an elephant which had entered the city during the night. A contemporary cited by M. Waliszewski says: "Figure to yourself the inhabitants of this great city [Moscow] as a new colony of Laplanders, Samoieds, and Ostiaks, who have the reputation of being the stupidest peoples of the North. Do not believe, however, that this parallel is entirely just; the Muscovites are infinitely below all these peoples."

Anna fell ill in October, 1740, and her malady assumed at once the most serious character. When she knew herself lost, she conferred long with Ostermann and Bühren; she signed a paper in which she conferred the regency on Bühren. Bühren assumed power without difficulty. He produced Anna's ukase; he transported the little Ivan, the legitimate heir to the throne, to the Winter Palace, in great state, with a regiment of the Guards; he himself went on foot, preceding a sedan-shair, in which was the nurse with the child on her knees. The Princess Mother followed in a court carriage. Mardefeld wrote: "All the Russians went to the Winter Palace to congratulate the Regent, kissing his hand or his gown. He was in tears, and did not utter a single word." The English Minister Finch declared that a regiment going through Hyde Park made more noise than this change of reign. "It was only natural," says Waliszewski, "for this to be so. After Catharine I., the supreme power, like the house of the sovereigns, seemed accessible to all." Bühren's only title was the favor of Anna. People bowed before him, since he represented arbitrary power and brute force. His first measures were acts of clemency; he tried by all means to gain popularity. He entered into a struggle with the House of Brunswick, but was finally defeated. He was imprisoned at Schlüsselburg, tried and condemned to death. The sentence was commuted to perpetual exile. He finally returned to Mittau, where he died.

The Regent who succeeded him was Anna Leopoldovna. M. Waliszewski's very interesting volume ends with the account of her regency, and with the accession of the famous Elisabeth. The chapter on Elisabeth deserves especial mention.

Correspondence.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF TAKU.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I am glad to see that the *Nation* stands up in defence of Admiral Kempff's not joining in the bombardment of the Taku forts. To that occurrence much of the present trouble may be attributed. Would it not have been better if our Government had protested against this action of the other Powers? Such a course would have given us immense prestige with the Chinese, and enabled us to act as a pacificator. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, the bombardment of the Taku forts was a hideous barbarism; cruel to the Chinese nation, and doubly cruel to the unfortunate foreigners in China. Had our Government raised its voice against this outrage, it would have done a service to civilization.

Respectfully, J. F. Walsh.

Camden, N. J., July 17, 1900.

A NEW TRINITY FOR CHINA.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The recent appeal of Mr. Moon, M. P., deserves a wide circulation. He is reported to have said on July 16; "We shall see whether Kaiser Wilhelm, the Don Quixote of modern monarchs, will back his eloquence with his sword. We shall have a chance to judge whether the triple motive of *vengeance, commercialism, and zeal for Christ* is enough to compel civilization to accept the bloody challenge of barbarism." Any one of these motives may be urged separately, but it is something new to have associated quite so outspokenly the "triple motive" of the world, the flesh, and Jesus Christ. "From hypocrisy, . . . Good Lord, deliver us."

Yours respectfully, W. H.

Madison, Conn., July 21, 1900.

A PRESSING NEED.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Some years ago Matthew Arnold wrote very thoughtfully of Isaiah and his times in Jerusalem. He dwelt with much force upon the "remnant" of which the prophet speaks with such pathos—"Except the Lord had left us a very small remnant," etc. And Mr. Arnold's contention was, that a nation's strength and safety consist not in majorities, but in the intelligence and moral character which are often possessed by the few. In other words, in the long run, the "power that makes for righteousness" is stronger than the power of fleets and armies, of diplomacy and politics, of ambition and greed; and this power is not always to be found in the forces that seem in the ascendant.

History furnishes many illustrations of this. Not only was it true in Isaiah's time, it has often been true since, that the saving elements of a country's character and greatness have been found in some obscure corner, in some despised "Galilee of the Gentiles," in some backwoods hamlet, in some ostracised party or sect, in some unpopular principles. Witness John Huss and the Moravians, the Paulicians, and Albigenses, the poor men of Lyons, the English Lollards, the Methodists of Oxford, and the expounders of "soul-liberty" in New England. In the same line of historic importance must be placed the early abolitionists, and the men who braved public opinion by "bolting" the great party nominations in 1844 and on until 1860, when their foresight and bravery and endurance had their reward. Had it not been for the "remnant," and it was generally in the beginning a very small remnant, the history of the world would have been very differently writ.

A very small number of men, if they have the spirit of a Savonarola, a Wesley, a George Fox, a Roger Williams, a John Quincy Adams, a Joshua Giddings, a Wil-

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liam Lloyd Garrison, can "turn the world upside down." The apostles were such men in their day; they were counted iconoclasts and disturbers of the peace, they were stigmatized and hated and persecuted; and every true reformer in Church or State must expect to share in some degree their odium. He must be content to be called narrow and fanatical, and have his name cast out as evil; he must forego the plaudits of the groundlings; he must be deaf alike to all voices of calumny and flattery; he will not be over-much praised by his own generation; his reward will be often a posthumous one; coming generations will confess themselves his debtors.

There is a pressing need at the present time of men who will be bold enough not to be intimidated by the crack of the party whip, and who will contend, as Sumner, and Hale, and Adams, and Garrison, and Phillips contended a generation ago, for the truth and the right, however mighty may be the forces that oppose, and however strong may be the current in the opposite direction. There is need of men who will stand for civil-service reform, for freedom from bossism, for purity in politics, for economy in administration, for national righteousness, for keeping faith with all men, whatever their race, or color, or previous condition of servitude. There is need of political leaders and of a party who will bear in mind, as a first principle of politics, the dictum of Isaiah of Jerusalem—"Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation that keepeth the truth may enter in."

Such men may be but a "very small remnant" at first; but they will have power, because righteousness is always and everywhere a power; and their number will grow, for they will draw to themselves some of the best elements from all parties.

But some man will say, "It is no time to break over lines." So said men fifty years ago, but had not some men been independent enough and courageous enough to break over the lines fifty years ago, so far as we can see, the nation would be under the tyranny of the slaveocracy still. Expediency is not always the best rule of conduct in public or private affairs. The interests of party are not sacred and supreme; the interests of truth and righteouness are. There is a time when resistance to authority is a duty; and there is a time when resistance to party policy is justifiable and right.

"New occasions teach new duties;
Launch our *Mayflower*, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea."
we ourselves must Pilgrims be;

D. F. L.

MANCHESTER-BY-THE-SEA, MASS.

Notes.

'The Jay-Hawkers,' a tale of Border Ruffian days in Kansas, by Mrs. Adela E. Orpen, and 'The Law in its Relations to Physicians,' by Arthur N. Taylor, LL.B., are among the latest announcements of D. Appleton & Co. Also, a 'Key to the Flora of the Northern United States,' by Dr. J. M. Coulter, of the University of Chicago.

Harper & Bros. have in press 'Eleanor,' by Mrs. Humphry Ward, in two volumes; 'The Mantle of Elijah,' by Israel Zangwill; 'A Bicycle of Cathay,' by Frank R. Stockton; a new edition of Blackmore's 'Lorna Doone,' illustrated by the camera of Clifton Johnson; and 'Women of the Bible,' by leading American divines.

A romantic poem, 'The Ballad of the Prince,' by Mrs. Alice Archer Sewall James, illustrated by reproductions of wash-drawings by the author, is in the press of R. H. Russell.

Miss Florence Lundborg's illustrations to the new FitzGerald Omar in preparation by William Doxey, No. 15 East Seventeenth Street, New York, will be in line.

In the magnificent new edition of the well-known 'Handbook on the Diseases of the Eye,' by Graefe and Saemisch, which is now coming out, in fourteen volumes, the subject of the comparative anatomy and physiology of the visual organs is to be treated by Dr. Theodor Beer of Vienna. Dr. Beer is anxious to acquire separate prints of all articles dealing in any way with the organ of sight in animals or in man, or with reactions to light, and he is particularly desirous that none of the widely scattered writings of Americans should escape his attention. Communications may be addressed to him, Anastasius Grün Gasse, 62, Vienna.

The idea of 'Paris as Seen and Described by Famous Writers' (Dodd, Mead & Co.) is attractive, but, if the selections have been well made, it is astonishing how little of interest great writers have had to say about Paris. Thackeray, for instance, knew Paris well, but is down for only a very unsatisfactory account of the Madeleine and a still more unsatisfactory account of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Miss Esther Singleton's translations from the French are frequently dubious and never very easy, so that at least half of her authors suffer a serious disadvantage. The best things in the book are the half-tone engravings, and the worst are the so-called "maps," which are horrible and which actually make it more difficult to understand locality than by the unaided memory.

'The Age of Johnson,' by Thomas Seccomb (Macmillan Co.), is an excellent contribution to the excellent series of Handbooks of English Literature, edited by Professor Hales. It lacks, perhaps, strictly speaking, style, but is written naturally and with some *esprit*, and abounds in interesting detail and agreeable matter. It successfully fulfils its unassuming plan.

'More Colonial Homesteads, and their Stories,' by Marion Harland (Putnams), gives some account, accompanied by illustrations, of several well-known historical American houses, such as Doughoregan Manor, Johnson Hall, La Chaumière du Prairie, and the Schuyler homesteads. Of these the first, as an existing manor, with some remains of its early state, is perhaps the most interesting. We are so much richer than our ancestors that we can afford to look back upon the modest homesteads of most of them with affectionate self-satisfaction. In multimillionairedom some of us build what we call "colonial" houses, but how the colonials would have wondered at our resources! Look at Mount Vernon, *Viator*, and consider its dimensions, and smile when you think that it was the home of the wealthiest American of his day. Times change, and houses with them. The magnate of to-day may convert his predecessor's establishment into a stable, and put up a hotel or castle for himself and be colonial or not, as he pleases. He is above the law. But all who care to do so may take a leaf out of the colonial book, and make a note of the good taste and simplicity in domestic architecture of the period.

'The Graduate Handbook No. 8, 1900' (Cambridge, Mass.: J. H. Patten), consists chiefly of the Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention of the graduate clubs whose organ this publication is. For students its most valuable feature is a folding table for ready comparison of graduate schools.

We have received a List of Graduates of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., with addresses of the living; and the fourth part, completing volume i., of the Obituary Record of the same institution.

The nineteenth annual report of President Carter's administration at Williams College has a significant passage on the virtual abolition of the "day of prayer for colleges," which was a religious holiday, compulsory on all except Roman Catholics, and appointed for the last Thursday in January. It is now relegated to the second Sunday in February. "Very marked changes for the better in the life of educated men in a former generation dated from the observance of this day," says President Carter, but he adds: "That has not been true to any degree of late years." Young men who do not "enter college with the habits of reverence and charity fixed" are little likely to undergo a striking transformation in college.

The *Columbia University Quarterly* for June contains a brief sketch, by the late Dean, Mrs. Emily James Putnam, of "The Rise of Barnard College." She says, in summing up: "Barnard is an independent college for women, with a corporation and a faculty of its own, vested with all the powers commonly belonging to such bodies. At the same time, it shares the library, the instruction, and the degrees of one of the important universities of the world. It is at present the only college in existence of which all these statements can be made." This article is followed by a one-sided men's symposium on the Education of Women, to which all are favorable, while some are unequivocally for co-education.

Besides the Proceedings of the Dialect Society, 1896-'99, the first part of the second volume of *Dialect Notes* (New Haven) is notable for a tentative list of college words and phrases, now current for much the greater part. It is the result of inquiry by circular, and will be made the basis of a second vocabulary.

In his second paper on "Early American Ballads," in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* for April-June (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), Mr. W. W. Newell traces the origin of the familiar New England "Springfield Mountain" in a very interesting manner. The victim of the "pisen serpent at his heal" was Timothy Merrick, August 7, 1761, and what is curious is the resemblance to the ballad of Isaac Orcutt (*circa* 1800), composed expressly as a chant for the funeral ceremonies; and to an "Account of the deth of the child of Daniel and Sarah Beckwith" (1773). Mr. Newell gives several variants of "Springfield Mountain." The melody is not that to which we have been accustomed.

Students of the history of mediæval Italy will thank Count Ugo Balzani for the revised edition of his little work, 'Le Cronache Italiane nel medio evo' (Milan: Hoepli). Some seventeen years ago the book first appeared in English under the auspices of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," and was shortly followed by an edition of the original Italian. Since then an enormous amount of work has been per-

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formed by German and Italian scholars in perfecting texts and determining disputed details, as well as in the publication of hitherto inedited sources. The results of these labors have been carefully garnered by the author in his revision, so that the book may be regarded as now fully on a level with the most advanced criticism on a singularly intricate department of historical material. After the fall of Rome, Italy, though somewhat more than a mere geographical expression, became split into more or less antagonistic divisions whose kaleidoscopic changes and mutual interaction, under the conflicting forces of feudalism, imperialism, theocracy, and democracy, render the task of the investigator unusually difficult. As one of the editors of the great "Regestum Farfense," the author has demonstrated his mastery of the multiform sources of Italian history, and in the present volume he has furnished a welcome guide through the labyrinth, from Cassiodorus to the Villani, written in a clear and forcible style, and enriched with numerous picturesque extracts illustrating the characteristics of the principal chroniclers and of the times in which they flourished.

After many wanderings, the remains of Dante are preserved in a case in the National Central Library of Florence. Signor Chilovi, the head of this institution, has in mind to give the precious relic a fitting monumental place in the contemplated new library building, where a Dante Gallery will be provided. A Deputy, Giuseppe Pescetti, looking to this end, commissioned the sculptor Prof. Rinaldo Barbetti to make a design for an urn, which was duly offered last month to Signor Chilovi. The Librarian, however, felt under obligations to prefer a design made by the sculptor Enrico Pazzi in 1899, on occasion of turning over to the Library the bones which had been in his custody since 1865. This "splendida opera," Signor Chilovi trusts, may be duly executed by the authorities.

Dr. A. Donaldson Smith, the young American who gained a high reputation as a traveller five years ago for being the first to reach Lake Rudolf from the Somali Coast, has just completed a still more interesting and adventurous journey. The unknown country explored this time lies between the northern end of the lake and the Nile. The first part of his route was through an exceptionally charming mountainous region, with stretches of excellent grazing land, inhabited by people more timid than vicious. To this succeeded a vast plain which in the wet season is simply a marsh, in the dry an impassable waterless desert. Attempts to cross this were fruitless, and he skirted its southern edge and finally reached the Nile at Fort Berkeley, the most northerly of the Uganda posts, on March 15 of this year. From this place he descended the river to Khartum in the gunboat of the sudd-cutting expedition. Among his collections are several new species of birds, and ten specimens of the smaller antelopes unknown to him and possibly new to science.

Professor Thilly, of the University of Missouri, objects to our remark, on reviewing a month ago his 'Introduction to Ethics,' that his "classification of the doctrines concerning the basis of right and wrong is substantially borrowed from Wundt (without acknowledgment, by the way)." His demonstration to the contrary presents mechanical difficulties of tabulation not easy for us to overcome, and we must content ourselves with printing his denial either of similarity or of conscious appropriation. To us the resemblance remains. Professor Thilly further allows no originality to Wundt, who does, however, lay claim to it.

—The third volume of Hamilton's 'Writings of James Monroe' (Putnams) opens with Monroe still in France, but unhappy because of a dinner incident and the "ingratitude" of Thomas Paine, who seemed to make him responsible for the Letter to Washington. Indeed, Monroe found his position so uncomfortable that he thought of demanding his recall, yet sought to open a regular correspondence with Bache's paper, the bitterest critic of the Administration. The Cabinet saved him the trouble, and he returned to the United States nursing a grievance, and was met by a demand from Hamilton, indignant on account of Monroe's betrayal of the Reynolds affair. The correspondence on this subject is entirely omitted from the present volume, so that the reader knows nothing of Monroe's cowardly behavior, but is permitted to read his gloating over the exposure of Hamilton. Of course, Monroe is against Washington, and as the same Cabinet was with Adams, his hatred is turned against "our insane President," that "old woman," and he even harbors a thought of calling him personally to account. In debt and with much time on his hands, he sulks in Virginia, urging his friends to defend him from attack, prepares drafts for their use, compiles his ponderous 'View,' chides Bache for not pushing its sale, is haunted by spies, examines the seals of letters to see if they have been tampered with, and asserts loudly that he is assailed by all who are unfriendly to liberty. He was proposed for Congress, but declined, and was elected Governor of Virginia. Occupation sobered him somewhat, but could not alter his sombre view of the conduct of the Administration, least of all of its shortcomings in foreign relations. His messages to the Legislature, which Mr. Hamilton wisely gives in full, are able and interesting. The most vital subject he was called upon to treat was the insurrection of slaves, and, in combination with Jefferson, he sought some remedy, such as a colony to which the dangerous might be sent. The election of 1800 removed his harassing doubts on the stability of government; and his opinions on removal of Federalists from office must be studied to be valued at their real worth. He made an insidious attack on Rufus King, and aided Jefferson in smoothing over a difficulty with that indescribable scoundrel, Callender. He raised the delicate question whether a Governor could exchange letters with the head of a department in the national Government. As Governor, Monroe rises in our estimation, small as he is in many ways.

—We note some unnecessary errors in the third volume, but pass them to comment upon the omission to use Monroe's letter to Jefferson of March 12, 1801, and upon the error in making the letters of November 15 and November 16, 1798, addressed to Jefferson, when Dawson (given as *Davison* on p. 128) was the correspondent. The letter to Madison, dated July 5, 1796, is full of errors. Jay was "forbidden to *weaken*," not to *make* engagements, and his object was to *procure* not *cost* us the respect of the English court (p. 21). On the next page, the letter was six months *old*, not *April;* while Monroe wrote of the *motive*, not *nature*, of this conduct (p. 23). The cipher seems to spell a *desultory*, not *desperate*, movement, and the opening sentence of the last paragraph on p. 23 has been altered beyond recognition by the editor. He makes Monroe say "[through] timid influences," though the cipher says "odium lies." On p. 24, the printed text speaks of an "appeal to the *fulfillment* itself and a different *merit* may be found"—a meaningless phrase, until by means of the key the words *government* and *spirit* are found. This is slipshod editing.

—The President of the American Museum of Natural History, New York city, in his latest annual report, gives a summary of the work accomplished during the year by the different exploring expeditions under the control of that institution. Harlan I. Smith of the Jesup North Pacific expedition has established the southern limits of North Pacific culture, and of the distribution of cairn burial on Vancouver Island, besides making a collection relating to the archæology of the Puget Sound region and the interior of southern British Columbia. Capt. George Comer has made a collection illustrating the arts and customs of certain Eskimo tribes on the west coast of Hudson's Bay; that from Southampton Island being remarkable on account of the primitive character of the tribe, "which has never been visited by whites, and is still living in the stone age." Roland B. Dixon, in studying the vanishing customs of the Plains Indians, has accumulated considerable information concerning the ethnology and language of the Maidu Indians of northern California. He has also collected specimens of their utensils, basketry, and feather ornaments, and has secured a series of casts and photographs illustrating the type of people. Another important collection, illustrative of the ceremonials and the symbolism of the Arapaho Indians, has been made by Alfred L. Kroeber, who has acquired new and valuable information in regard to the significance of the Arapaho decorative designs. The Hyde Southwestern Expedition has continued the examination of the ruins and burial places in the Chaco Cañon, New Mexico, and its neighborhood, as part of a general survey of the archæology of the region included in the adjoining corners of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Arizona. Much time has been devoted to a study of the facts relating to the antiquity of the ruins of Bonito, and to the cause of the desertion of this pueblo by a numerous people after much labor had been expended in house building and in irrigation. There has been secured an important collection from the ancient burial caves in Grand Gulch, the remains of a people evidently distinct from the builders of the stone pueblos and cliff-houses. The researches by Dr. Bandelier in Peru and Bolivia have been continued, and a shipment of specimens found in the vicinity of Lake Titicaca, illustrating the highest stage of prehistoric civilization attained in South America, is on its way to the Museum. The exploration of the Trenton gravels and of the Delaware valley has been prosecuted by Ernest Volk. Several stone implements have been found *in situ* in what competent geologists admit to be the deposit made at the close of the glacial period. There has also been discovered a fragment of a hu-

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man femur, which was *in situ* seven feet from the surface in the sand layer beneath the undisturbed glacial gravel. The bone is chalky, bears upon its surface certain striæ having the appearance of glacial scratches, and is probably as old as the deposit in which it lay. In the same neighborhood, three fragments of a human parietal bone were found on the recently fallen talus, in such a position that they had evidently been dislodged from the sand layer under the gravel. Like the femur, they were chalky, striated, and stained by iron from the gravel.

—An account of the first winter ever spent by men on Antarctic land was given recently to the Royal Geographical Society by Mr. Borchgrevink, the head of the expedition. This consisted of six scientific observers and collectors and four assistants. Their camp was built on Cape Adare, Victoria Land, and magnetic and meteorological observatories were established. Meteorological observations were taken every two hours, day and night, and magnetic observations whenever the conditions were favorable. Great difficulty was often experienced in taking these, from the tremendous gales which raged; the wind in one instance attaining a velocity of 102 miles an hour. On these occasions the observer was connected by a rope around his waist with the hut. The greatest cold was experienced in August: —52° Fahr. The height of the surrounding land—in one place it reached nearly 12,000 feet—made any attempt at exploration exceedingly dangerous, and it was impossible to reach the interior. The conditions are less favorable for exploration than in the Arctic regions. There are no bears, foxes, musk oxen, or reindeer; and accordingly the expedition was obliged to live on birds, eggs, and fish. The only animal life mentioned besides these was a number of insects of three distinct types found among the mosses on Geikie Land. When exploring at the foot of Mount Terror, Mr. Borchgrevink and a companion were witnesses of the birth of an iceberg. "With a deafening roar, the huge mass plunged into the sea, and a white cloud of water and snow hid everything from their eyes. A wave rose like a wall from the plunge of this gigantic ice mass, and seemed to grow rapidly as it approached the low ledge where they stood. Instinctively they ran to the highest part of the beach and stood close to the perpendicular mountain wall. The time seemed long drawn out. The wave first struck Mr. Borchgrevink; lumps of ice were driven against his back; he felt the blood rush forward from beneath his nails as he clung to the rock. The icy water passed over his head, and when it receded Capt. Jensen was still by his side. Several waves followed in succession, but none so high as the first. . . . The water marks showed that the first wave had reached a height of 20 feet above their heads." The expedition, with the loss of one man by sickness, sailed for home on March 2, just a year from the time of its landing. It is, of course, too soon to estimate the value of its scientific work, but the observations seem to give the approximate place of the magnetic pole in latitude 73.20° south and longitude 146° east. "But it was not stationary."

—Nine years ago the Society of Historical Theology of Oxford appointed a committee to prepare a statement of "the principal results of modern inquiry into the composition of the first six books of the Old Testament." It took this committee, composed of Messrs. Harford-Battersby, J. Estlin Carpenter,' Fripp, Montefiore, Selbie, and Cheyne, to whom were added later Buchanan Gray and W. H. Bennett, four years to prepare and revise the analysis of the books under consideration. The work of publication was then assigned to Messrs. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, with freedom to elaborate, explain, and change, as might seem to them desirable. The result is two large octavo volumes entitled 'The Hexateuch,' covering in all about 650 closely printed pages. While printed under the auspices of the Society of Historical Theology, with "the liberal aid of the Hibbert Trustees," and based on the analysis made by the above-mentioned committee, the work is that of the editors, and especially of Professor Carpenter, and they are responsible for the views presented. The first volume discusses the composition of the Hexateuch. It contains an admirable review of the history of criticism, the best yet published; a statement of the general grounds of the analysis, the contents and characteristics of the documents; the history of their composition, redactions, and union, as far as these have been worked out; word-lists and tables of laws and institutions. To this volume Professor Cheyne has contributed one chapter on "Criticism and Archæology." The second volume contains the text, with a special introduction to Joshua. The principal documents are arranged in parallel columns, further subdivisions being indicated by the use of different type. By the exercise of some ingenuity, for which the editors express their thanks to "the controller of the University Press and his assistants," this columnar arrangement has been so handled as to make consecutive reading no difficult task, at the same time that the relations of the parts are clearly shown. Marginal notes refer to Biblical and other references, and abundant foot-notes explain the special grounds of analysis. The translation is that of the Revised Version. The editors belong to the most advanced school of critics, but their work is at the same time soberly and cautiously done, in a fair spirit, without apparent theological or controversial bias. While these volumes are of the first importance for Old Testament scholars, the price ($12.00) puts them beyond the reach of most, except as they can consult them in libraries. The work bears the imprint of Longmans, Green & Co.

—'La Protection Ouvrière au Japon,' by Saïto Kashiro (Paris), is a short but valuable treatise written by one who has had every opportunity to become acquainted with the details of his subject. The volume is really a discussion and criticism of the various articles of a proposed labor law—a discussion giving occasion for a general description of labor conditions. The striking feature of Japanese labor is its attitude of submission to the employing class, though this attitude is being modified as time goes on. State interference in the form of protection to labor has been unpopular, and the ignorance of the working classes has allowed of an almost complete neglect of hygienic measures in industrial establishments. Pensions in case of accident, premiums for regularity, etc., are meagre. Twelve hours is the average working-day, and women and children are everywhere seen laboring. Wages are small, and rarely exceed fifty cents a day for the very most efficient male hands. Advancement in wages is slow, and there is little opportunity to save; low wages here coexist with an absence of habits of economy. Compulsory "saving" is common, but is really a disguised method of retaining a hold upon the laborer, for he is forced to serve out his contract and obey strict regulations under penalty of confiscation of the savings remaining in his employer's hands. Japanese laborers soon tire of the routine and monotony of machine-production, and are readily led to desert their employers; a class of intermediaries display much rascality in connection with these desertions. A system of laborers' certificates also has been put into operation in order to restrict the movement of labor. Saïto regards this as an unwarranted hindrance to the competition of developing industries. Short chapters treat of factory regulation, inspection, etc., and of apprenticeship. The book is full of very suggestive facts and figures, and the author shows a remarkable power of expression in a foreign tongue.

McMASTER'S HISTORY.

A History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War. By John Bach McMaster. Vol. V. 1821-1830. Appletons.

As Mr. McMaster resumes his pen, the era of good feeling under Monroe is drawing to a close, and the legitimate effects of Jefferson's policy in party matters are coming to the surface. If "the people" were to be the controlling factor in representative government, they should at least be able to elect their President, and restrictions on an expression of their opinion should be removed. The spectacle of Congress neglecting public business in order to intrigue for Presidential candidates was not edifying, and the Congressional caucus was opposed by many as an unwholesome evidence of partisan activity, and by more because it interfered with the freedom of the people to decide the choice of President for themselves. The opposition to the caucus, taking different forms in the different States, did result in an important change of methods of choosing a President; but this change was accompanied by the abolition of qualifications required of the voter, by an extension of elective offices, and by the rise of a party machinery the perfection of which for its own purposes has rarely been equalled. In introducing a needed reform, much more than was required had been obtained from the people; and the campaign which placed Adams in the Presidency through the intervention of Congress, was largely responsible for that which made Jackson the successor of Adams.

The best chapter in the volume before us is that describing the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency in 1828. It is astonishing as well as mortifying to read again the details of that crowning success of "machine politics." Mr. McMaster has marshalled his facts in an able manner, but with not so much as a suggestion that the Administration of Adams had been much above the average in ability, or that it was largely because Adams sought to be an active President—one of opinions and resolved policy—and refused to prostitute appoint-

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ments to office for political vantage, that he was defeated. His very courage and upright conduct gave his adversaries ground for combination (for union was not possible), and enabled them to elect a man of no opinions, and few qualifications for the office. The charges against Adams and Clay have long since been classed among the fictions that serve for campaign purposes only, and the surprising use made of them by Jackson and his followers, in the face of denials as true as they were solemn, gives the campaign of nearly three years a picturesqueness of which the author has made good use. He does not mention the probable authorship of the Kremer letters, though even at the time it was recognized that this obscure member of Congress was incapable of doing what was done in his name. Adams, in his Diary, says the writer was McDuffie or Ingham; and Rufus King, representing a party opposed to Adams, says it was McDuffie or Hayne. As the two authorities name McDuffie, the probability is strong that the South Carolinian was the responsible person, and his bitter attacks on Adams, and iteration of the charge of the bargain with Clay, lend color to this view.

In making the "people, and not the leaders" responsible for the general looting of offices under Jackson, Mr. McMaster goes too far. He says:

"In the course of events the time had come for a departure from old-time methods, and, whatever may be thought of the character of that change, it had to be made. No leader in our country can debase the people. He is exactly what the will of the people enables him to be, and the moment he ceases to execute that will he ceases to be a leader."

This doctrine will excuse any incapable head of a party for any misdeed. Who were "the people" at that time? Jackson received 647,276 votes and Adams 508,064; were the opinions of this weighty minority of no moment? It was known to include the intelligence and wealth of the country, and, had the qualifications surrounding suffrage in the older States been retained, would not have been overwhelmed in defeat. The doctrine announced is destructive of all independence and leadership, and proclaims that the man who keeps his ear to the ground, and obeys the passing murmurs of the "people"—that is, a noisy majority—is greater than he who has convictions and does not fear to stand by them. The orgy of spoils that came in with Jackson has been repeated more than once, and weakness has often been taken for strength; but it is to be regretted that the calm historian can be found to write in defence or excuse of both. It is the more to be regretted as our author denounces elsewhere the decision of a contested election on purely partisan grounds, as "that foul deed of which the history of legislation in our country affords many instances."

The chapter on the "Common School in the first Half-Century" is an example of the merits and demerits of Mr. McMaster's methods. The history of legislation concerning schools in each State is traced; the source being, as a rule, the monographs of the Bureau of Education. As the schools were among the subjects of State control, the action of one Legislature did not affect that taken in the neighboring States, and a separate description gives a fair conception of the condition of education in each State. But why was this subject introduced in this volume at all? The description begins with the act of 1647 passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, and passes to vague mention of an attempt in 1829 to establish common schools in Tennessee. After some thirty pages of detail it is annoying to find the subject summed up in the sentence, "But the common school, the school for the children of the people, was still to become a great American institution."

Continuity of view is sought by constantly returning to the same subject, and prefacing new developments by extensive summaries of what has gone before. In describing the political ideas of the first half-century the author carries the reader back to the opening of the Revolution and the framing of the first constitutions. Ten pages of recapitulation, one-sixth of the chapter, are required to bring us to the first act proper to the period covered by this volume, to the Constitutional Convention of New York in 1821; and this summary is to open the question of suffrage qualifications. In the same chapter, the debates in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 on the Presidency, the changes in the manner of nominating and electing Presidents, the uses of the annual messages, and the rise of the Cabinet, are detailed in order to show that no President had believed in three terms, and that the election of 1824 led to abortive efforts to amend the Constitution so as to prohibit a third term. Eleven pages are thus consumed by matter which may largely be found in the earlier volumes, and in proper connection with the course of the narration. As political ideas Mr. McMaster also includes the decision of courts on the Constitutionality of legislative acts, the admission of a new State from territory outside of the original bounds of the United States, and the assertion of States' rights on sundry occasions. After so much wealth of incident, expectation is aroused, and some definite advance in political theory or methods should result. But this is what we get:

"Dissatisfaction with the executive office as defined in the Constitution was now widespread. The length of his term, the manner of choosing him, his eligibility to frequent reëlection, were the causes of seventy-five propositions to amend the Constitution between 1820 and 1830. A single term, a direct popular vote, and the exclusion of members of Congress from offices within the gift of the President, were the popular political ideas."

Was it worth all these sixty pages to learn that indefinite fact, for indefinite it must remain? The attempt to secure continuity really results in breaking the little connection the chapters might have had. It remains true that each chapter is an essay by itself, and the reader is obliged to pass from one volume to another without the aid of the author—a fault which can be remedied only by the exercise of a faculty that Mr. McMaster does not possess. The nine volumes of Adams's History make a continuous story, told on a definite plan, and with consistent purpose. The last chapter is as inevitable as the first, both in form and in substance. Any one of McMaster's chapters could appear in a magazine, and be readable; but each stands by itself in this volume as isolated as it would in a magazine.

It is not often that a historian alters his point of view in conformity to passing events. The dignity of history is opposed to such an exhibition, but a recent history of the American Revolution offers an example of it, and Mr. McMaster's present volume another. In his opening chapter he gives an account of the efforts of the Spanish republics to obtain independence, and describes the measures leading to the announcement of the "Monroe Doctrine." He cites the suggestion of Canning that England and the United States unite in a declaration that "while neither Power desired the colonies of Spain for herself, it was impossible to look with indifference on European intervention in their affairs, or to see them acquired by a third Power." In a later chapter the Monroe Doctrine is again the subject, and the assertion is made that England would probably use her arms against the Holy Allies, and that "her reward for such help would be Cuba and Porto Rico seemed certain, and at the prospect of such a transfer Monroe became anxious. The possession of the islands by a decaying Power such as Spain was one thing, but their ownership by a great naval Power, such as Great Britain, was another, and a very different matter; hence Monroe's Doctrine." It is difficult to reconcile these two accounts. The fear of English occupation was hinted during the spring of 1823, and constituted the basis of Adams's dispatch to Nelson on April 28, which Mr. McMaster makes follow Monroe's anxieties. During the summer even Jefferson, who had no love for England, laid aside his jealousy of her possible intentions on Cuba, and in August Rush sent forward Canning's suggestion. This was considered by Monroe and his Cabinet on November 7, and the President's message announcing the now famous "Doctrine" was transmitted to Congress early in December. It was not the fear of the English acquiring Cuba that led to the promulgation of the Doctrine, and subsequent events proved this.

In recording the somewhat picturesque customs of the day, Mr. McMaster has shown his usual judgment, and his industry in this direction makes his volumes a mine of interest. The beginning of New York city, and the curious regulations for street-cleaning, for teaming, and fire protection; the introduction of gas, which met with opposition from the candle-makers and oil-dealers; the rise of a market for coal, which increased so that, in 1825, house-holders were warned against throwing their coal ashes into the streets; the opening of the Erie Canal and the first railroad projects—in such topics the author is at home, and from the columns of the newspapers of the day compiles a highly readable story.

MERIVALE.

Autobiography of Dean Merivale. With Selections from his Correspondence. Edited by his daughter, Judith Anne Merivale. London: Edward Arnold. 1899.

The contents of this volume, with the exception of a few letters to Dean Lake, were printed privately a few years ago. Their character was such as to demand for them a wider publication, and the general reader has much reason to be glad that this has been conceded. Dean Merivale is described upon his monument in Ely Cathedral as "caustic in wit," possibly with reference to his conversation. There is plenty of wit in this memoir, but caustic,

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for the most part, it is not, and it is more delightful than if it were so habitually. It is a pity that the autobiography could not have been extended, like that of Gibbon, over the historian's entire career. It would then have been as adequate a companion to his 'History of the Romans under the Empire' as Gibbon's to the 'Decline and Fall.' It stops short with his obtainment of a Cambridge fellowship in 1833. But the letters begin at 1826 and come down to 1891; and while they have not the continuity that a complete autobiography would have, they do much to fill the gap, and are vivacious and entertaining to a degree surpassing the autobiography.

Few examples of the child's paternity of the man are more striking than the one we have here, where the boy of six summers plays Roman History around St George's Square, assigns one piece of the walk to Italy and a part of that to Rome; parallel lines of the flagging representing good or evil qualities, and the careers of the Consuls being denoted by the lines taken by the hoops driven by Charles and his brother Herman back and forth. "The strict line of public virtue was the narrow path of the kerb-stone, and few magistrates kept it to the end." He was the smallest and youngest boy at Harrow, his description of which, as it was in 1818, is a permanent contribution to the educational history of England; as, too, is his account of Cambridge as he found it a few years further along.

In 1824 he was offered an East Indian writership, and went to Haileybury, where the instruction was adapted closely to the needs of the Indian Service. This meant an arrest of his classical studies, in which he had done well at Harrow, learning thousands of lines of Latin poetry, including the whole of Lucan. As time went on, he found out that he did not want the Indian writership. The patron who had offered it was much disgusted, and turned over his offer to John Lawrence, "who went to India as a writer, distinguished himself by many eminent services till at last he became the main instrument in defending the Empire at the time of the Mutiny, and was rewarded with the Governor-Generalship and the title of Lord Lawrence." "And thus it was," says Merivale, "that I saved India." To better this story, the Dean tells another of his declining to review Miss Beaufort's 'Syrian Shrines.' It was turned over to Percy Smythe, afterward Lord Strangford. His review did not please the lady; correspondence ensued, a meeting, a marriage. Once at a Harrow luncheon the Viscountess Strangford and Lord Lawrence both sat before the Dean, little imagining that they owed to him their fame and fortune.

It is significant that the book which most caught Merivale's fancy at Haileybury was Gibbon's autobiography. His brother was at Oxford, and it would have been delightful to follow him, but to save time he went to Cambridge; here, as elsewhere, everything conspiring to give a perfectly congenial direction to his life. In 1829 he took an oar in the first university boat race between Cambridge and Oxford. So slender was the interest in the race that not thirty men went from Cambridge to Henley to see it. It was as if they had some painful premonition of the event, which was fatal to the Cambridge boat. The same year, Tennyson being "too proud or too shy to exhibit himself on such an occasion," Merivale "spouted his verses [Timbuctoo] with considerable effect"; and "I have always had," he says, "a kind of quasi-parental regard for them." He got his fellowship in 1833, and at that point brings his autobiography to an end with an extremely liberal discussion of the relations of Churchmen and Dissenters. He never forgot that his grandparents were Unitarians, and their examples qualified his judgment of dissent his whole life long. He writes of his grandmother: "She, too, was a Unitarian to the backbone; but no one seemed to be nearer to the Bible, nearer to Christ." His criticism upon Unitarians is that they get their opinions too exclusively from the Gospels, not enough from St. Paul's Epistles.

The letters following the autobiography are divided into three sets, written respectively at Cambridge, Lawford, and Ely. In 1841 we find him working on a 'History of Imperial Rome' for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, but the scheme fell through. Here, however, were the "seeds and weak beginnings" of his 'History of Rome under the Empire,' the publication of which began in 1850, and ended in 1862. After reading Miss Burney's letters, he writes a long one in her manner, describing the reception of the Queen and Prince Consort at Cambridge in 1843. It is excellent fooling, but even better is the letter of December 6, 1851, exposing Louis Napoleon's planning of his *Coup d'État* on the lines indicated in chapter iv., volume iii., of Merivale's History. This letter having been taken seriously, Miss Merivale is obliged to explain in her preface that Louis Napoleon "did not buy a thousand copies of that work for his regimental libraries, nor did the author receive from him the Cross of the Legion of Honor."

In 1848 Merivale accepted a living at Lawford, a village of 900 people, with an income of £800 a year. In this quiet place he remained until 1869, when he was made Dean of Ely. At Lawford the History was written. The letters do not contain many reflections of Merivale's work upon it. One of the most interesting is concerning Nero's persecution of the Christians, Tacitus's account of which is quite certainly a distortion in some sort of the actual occurrence. Merivale takes kindly to the suggestion that Nero's levity while Rome was burning may be accounted for by supposing him to have been well insured. Having written an article on the topography of Rome, he is afraid that Elwin, the editor of the *Quarterly*, will keep it in pickle so long that "recent discoveries will disprove it all over and over again before it appears." There is a very interesting letter on the Vatican busts of the different Emperors.

Comments on current politics abound, Merivale's opinions being generally Conservative, with some Liberal aberrations. Of Macaulay's funeral in the Abbey he writes that the most suggestive thing was a little clever-looking boy, "perched on a railing, surveying all the crowd, whom, if he lives, he will see under ground, and treasuring up, no doubt, in his mind memories to repeat seventy years hence to our grandchildren." Merivale, looking round on the "very noble mob," asked himself what candidates were there for an Abbey burial, and could light only upon Thackeray, whose bust alone is there; his grave at Kensal Green. The comment is severe on Jowett's opinions as put forth by his friends during the 'Essays and Reviews' ferment, to show "how amiable and sentimental and devotional" they really were. "They seem to me," says Merivale, "to indicate great effeminacy of mind. Heresy should be made of stronger stuff." In 1861 he is "glad that Virginia has seceded," but does not "see what there is to fight about," and hardly thinks there will be real war. The historical sense, it would seem, does not work forward as well as backward. He is glad that his sister does not find his sermons extravagantly fanciful. "A witty man might say that I make out the Apostles to be gentlemen who kept yachts on the Lake of Gennesareth." He tells that Thackeray cried out on one of his witticisms, "I beg your pardon, sir, but have you any further use for that? I think it is worth half a crown." In 1863 he was made Chaplain of the House of Commons: the duties were five minutes' reading of prayers for five days in a week for a period of six months; the salary, £400. He was not too reverent of the office, writing to his wife of one of his first readings, "I have just done my bow-wow." There is too much of prophecy in his estimate of American affairs in 1866. He foresaw the collapse of the negro franchise in the South, to be followed, he thought, by some system of forced labor retaining the substance of slavery. His views of such matters were substantially those of Carlyle. Of President Johnson he writes: "He is an abler man than we supposed."

One of Merivale's most drastic comments is on Grote, page 296. One of his most cynical observations is, "The doctrinaires wonder at the little wisdom by which the world is governed. Precisely so—if it were governed by greater wisdom it would be ruined." Ritualism gets hard knocks: "I believe that such a system fosters a triviality of mind, weakening and emasculating. It lowers men to women and women to worms." Macaulay, as seen in his Journals, he finds "totally devoid of both the sexual and spiritual feelings." He is severe upon the New Testament Revision; thinks his colleagues "knew very little English," and, in view of the translation "evil one" in the Lord's Prayer, is pleased to hear "that some of the sly people in the North call Bishop Lightfoot ὁ πονηρός." Of Thomas à Kempis's "Imitatio Christi" he writes, "I took occasion once to look through it to see whether it says one word about 'doing good' which is so characteristic of our Lord's doings on earth. There is not a word about it." The last letter bears date of December 27, 1891, two years to a day before Merivale's death. He had just been making out a list of friends and acquaintances still living and over eighty years of age. He had counted sixty-three—as if the good fortune which had followed him through life was with him still.

The Banker and the Bear. By Henry Kitchell Webster. Macmillan.

The Minister's Guest. By Isabel Smith. D. Appleton & Co.

The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg, and Other Stories and Essays. By Mark Twain. Harper & Bros.

The Reign of Law: A Tale of the Kentucky Hemp-fields. By James Lane Allen. Macmillan Co.

'The Banker and the Bear' is "The Story

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of a Corner in Lard," and is entertaining reading. The characters may not all be highly probable, but they act, on the whole, with self-justifying consistency; the incidents, many of them, are highly improbable, but at least they are linked together with due regard to cause and consequence. The unvarnished way of telling the story is absolutely appropriate, and the writer has the happy knack of not dwelling too long on any one episode. If the scenes at the Stock Exchange ring somewhat familiar, and if a run on a bank is not a perfectly new invention, in the financial story, yet there are original devices of treatment in both cases; and the women characters, though we regret that the author selected for his heroine the name of Dick, are something more than the usual lay-figures in such tales. All in all, it is a brisk little book, clever and readable. A good example of the writer's style and temper is furnished in the sentence, "The sentiment which gets a man into a difficulty rarely stays around to help him out of it."

The scene of action of the modest novel, 'The Minister's Guest,' alternates between two English parishes—St. Radigund's, Kent, and Dissenting Duck Lane Chapel in a Midland country town. A blithe little girl who has affiliations with both rectory and manse, flits to and fro as connecting link. From the rector she learns to ride, fish, and make trout-flies. With the minister she studies Greek. The contrasting temperaments, character, and aims of the two men are excellently and humorously depicted; and no less so, the surrounding family and parochial groups. Over against the rector's genial and largely veterinary ministrations among his Kentish hop-picking parishioners are set the kindly austerities of the Rev. Josiah and the hard, dry, narrow virtues of his Non-conformist flock. The writer has a marked gift for characterization, and makes us familiarly at home in both places; demonstrating, moreover, that love-making can flourish on the most arid soil.

To any one desiring to read a thrilling account of a true shipwreck, told with masterly art, we commend "My Début as a Literary Person" in Mark Twain's collection of stories reprinted from sundry magazines. The following one, "From the London *Times* of 1904," is not only an ingenious scientific forecast, but a pungent satire on the Dreyfus trial. The paper on the Jews reads as forcibly as it did when it attracted attention in *Harper's Monthly*, a year ago. It points out the fact that the persecution of the Jews at present is a business passion, not a religious one, and reminds the Asian Mystery that they are banded together only in their charities, where they are omnipotent. The chapter on the Austrian Parliament is a brilliant contribution to the history of contemporaneous legislative manners. "Travelling with a Reformer," as Mark Twain does it, is full of suggestion as to the right way to work and the real ear to reach in the redressing of public grievances. In another article, he gives a deeply interesting account of "The Master of Palmyra," as played at the Burg Theater in Vienna, and points the moral by sighing for a theatre in New York where only great tragedies shall be played, that we may have "an occasional climb among the pomps of the intellectual snow-summits built by Shakspere and those others." There are funny stories, too, and we have the latest word from the Jumping Frog, who has now jumped back two thousand years into Bœotia (personally conducted by Dr. Van Dyke), forward into the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and back into the author's retranslation. We venture to remind this Wandering Jew among athletes that jumping is, as the old English reading-book says of cricket, "a manly exercise, but full of admonition."

Mr. James Lane Allen is still loyal to Kentucky; he is still a devotee of Nature, and can describe her moods with loving fidelity; his chief interest is still the problem of a soul—or, preferably, a pair of souls; and his writing has gained in force, precision, and beauty. These are the main inferences we draw from 'The Reign of Law.' The book has its oddities and impossibilities. In that curious essay—half poem, half table of statistics—on "Hemp," which Mr. Allen prefixes to the whole, we see the decline of the hemp-growing industry in Kentucky a *vera causa* of the decline of American shipping. This is no more serious a dislocation, or inversion, of the facts than is Mr. Allen's turning back the theological dial several degrees. Just the ferment of new thought troubling the old, which he precisely locates in Kentucky during the sixties, could not have been discovered anywhere in this country at exactly that date. But we have been authoritatively assured that it is absurd to suppose Mr. Allen subject to the limitations of time and space, in these high matters; so, as far as mere chronology is concerned, we must perforce say, "With thee conversing, I forget all Time," and stay the critic's hand. But we are bound to record our sense of unnaturalness in a theological struggle that never could have been on land or sea, when we come to the details of Mr. Allen's David wrestling with the angel of doubt, and not letting it go till it blessed him. Through all this we remain unconvinced and obdurate, willing captives though we yield ourselves even here to the idealistic charm of the style, and much as we appreciate—none more—the poetic delicacy of the author's mind and manner. Amid all our noisy and knowing "realists," and the crowding of the novelists made mad by much historical learning, Mr. Allen pursues his vision splendid as one apart.

The Philosophical Theory of the State. By Bernard Bosanquet. Macmillan Co. 1899.

The title of this essay is somewhat pretentious. It had been more modest in the author to call it *a* rather than *the* philosophical theory. For our own part we should prefer to entitle it a metaphysical theory of the State. It is substantially Hegelian, and has its roots in the doctrines of the mediæval Realists. We do not find that Mr. Bosanquet has contributed much that is novel to this ancient theory, although his exposition of it is in many respects commendable. His tone is at all events entirely free from harshness, and while he sometimes obscures his points by verbosity, he generally makes them clear in the end. But the criticisms that were originally made of the assumptions of Realism are as applicable now as then. We have only to ask the question, Is the State an entity in the same sense as a human being? in order to find out that the conception of *universalia ante rem* is practically untenable. We can see, and hear, and touch human beings, but States have an invisible and intangible existence. Just so soon as we begin to reason of the State as if it were an independent reality instead of an abstraction, we inevitably make it a being superior to man, and it is but a step farther to make rulers beings superior to their subjects.

The particular form in which this fallacy is advocated by the school which Mr. Bosanquet represents, is that of the wills of man. Voluntary action may be of two kinds; it may be in response to desires and impulses, or it may be in accordance with enlightened reason. In the latter case we have the *real* will in operation. When a man does what we think he ought to, we say that he is acting according to his real will. When he does what he thinks he ought to, but what we think he ought not to, then he is not carrying out his real will. That, of course, is not the way in which Mr. Bosanquet puts it, but it is necessarily implied in his theory. We may grant that "the good at which I aim extends beyond my trivial or momentary self—that is to say, is universal as against myself as particular." But the great question, so far as human liberties are concerned, is whether I am to judge of this good, or to take the judgment of some one else.

"The average individual," Mr. Bosanquet asserts, "such as each of us takes himself to be in his ordinary trivial moods, when he sees, or thinks he sees, nothing in life but his own private interest and amusement—this average individual is no longer accepted as the real self or individuality." In order to be ourselves, we must be always becoming something which we are not. Hence, we may speak without a contradiction of being forced to be free.

"It is possible for us to acquiesce, as rational beings, in a law and order which, on the whole, makes for the possibility of asserting our true or universal selves, at the very moment when this law and order is constraining our particular private wills in a way which we resent, or even condemn. Such a law and order, maintained by force, which we recognize as, on the whole, the instrument of our greatest self-affirmation, is a system of rights; and our liberty, or, to use a good old expression, our liberties, may be identified with such a system considered as the condition and guarantee of our becoming the best that we have in us to be, that is, of becoming ourselves. And, because such an order is the embodiment, up to a certain point, of a self or system of will which we recognize as what ought to be, as against the indolence, ignorance, or rebellion of our casual private selves, we may rightly call it a system of self-government or free government, . . . all of us, as casual private units, being subject to an order which expresses, up to a certain point, the rational self or will which, as rational beings, we may be assumed to recognize as imperative."

No doubt anarchy is intolerable. Under the worst of despotisms there may be more liberty than under no government at all. But the reason is that, where anarchy prevails, force, arbitrary force, is all-powerful. Government differs from anarchy for the better in the degree in which force is dispensed with, and the best society would be that in which individuals are constrained by their own consciences and by public opinion rather than by law. The theory which Mr. Bosanquet elaborates does not sufficiently distinguish the rulers, who exercise force, from the society—which is properly the state—which acts by moral suasion. A state, or society, may thus have a

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very different constitution from its government. The "real will," to use Mr. Bosanquet's expression, of the society may be hostile to the will of the rulers. Rulers are to be regarded as quite as capable of thwarting the ends and ideals of a society as of promoting them. But the tendency is almost irresistible to regard the Government as expressing the will and aim of the subjects.

Mr. Bosanquet's examination of the views of Rousseau and Mill is interesting and effective, but we cannot comment on it. We are approaching, in this country, a period of Constitutional agitation and possibly modification which will turn the thoughts of our citizens toward the discussion of theories of the state, and such books as this will command readers. While we cannot accept Mr. Bosanquet's fundamental assumption, there is much in his argument that is suggestive, and we commend his careful essay to all students of political science.

The Life of Madame de Longueville. By Mrs. Alfred Cock. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899.

Mrs. Alfred Cock writes the first Life of Mme. de Longueville which is to be found in English, and, apart from critical or biographical essays, no French author has made her his special subject since the days of Bourgoing de Villefore, 160 years ago. From the death of Richelieu to the end of the Fronde she had a career which is without parallel among the lives of French women, and into which the most exceptional elements enter. To the highest lineage, to youth and beauty, to command over her brother, the hero of Rocroi, she joined ambition and a restless spirit of intrigue. The court of France provided scope for her attractions, and the minority of Louis XIV. permitted her plots to multiply. As it was an age of memoirs, stories about her abound, and even the weightiest works of history are filled with references to her name. Some knowledge of her actions and character will always be a good introduction to the study of the period when the nobles of France rallied for their last revolt against the Crown.

Without the aid of her elder brother, Mme. de Longueville might have accomplished something in politics, but her influence over the Duc d'Enghien (or Condé, as we may more fitly call him) brought schemers to her side who would never have joined her but for their confidence in a great general. She had the pride of the Bourbons and their love of power, with about an average share of the tactlessness which that family has ever displayed. She could organize a "Cave of Adullam," but could not hold the disaffected together. Mazarin's wretched system of finance, in addition to his Italian birth, had so stirred the nobles and the nation that Mme. de Longueville and her faction needed only to observe a masterly inactivity. They lost the game by their stupid haste. As a statesman, Mazarin had failed on the domestic side as clearly as he had succeeded in his foreign policy. When the peace came, a heavy reckoning with the nation was in store for him. De Retz and Mme. de Longueville tried intrigue where none was required. Instead of starving Mazarin out of his position, they challenged him to a duel with weapons which he could use better than they.

We comment thus on Mme. de Longueville's part in the wars of the Fronde because Mrs. Cock makes the political aspect of her heroine's life more prominent than the personal. She avoids taking the view which the Comte de Ste.-Aulaire has espoused, namely, that the Frondeurs had noble purposes and might, if successful, have anticipated the French Revolution. But if she cannot praise the cause, and if she acknowledges the Duchess's love of heading a coterie even when it led straight towards treason, she shows herself rather too indulgent in her analysis of motives. We cannot think that Mme. de Longueville was very deeply stirred by the popular grievances of which Paris became the champion. She shared the turbulence of the great feudatories who had lost their power at the end of the Middle Ages without losing their pride. She would be second to no woman, not even to the Queen Regent, in the degree of her political influence; and whither ambition took her she recked little.

Mme. de Longueville lived to be sixty, but all the action of her day is crowded into the decade 1643-1653, when she was still in the glory of early womanhood. Her life as an episode in public affairs forms a perfect contrast to that of Mme. de Maintenon or to that of Mme. des Ursins. She disappears from politics at thirty-four; they begin at a later age than that of her retirement; and their work had real importance, while her schemes were wholly unfruitful. Mrs. Cock's description of Mme. de Longueville's later years, and particularly of her connection with Port Royal, is good. The repentance of French women in the seventeenth century is a large subject of itself, but we shall not question the sincerity of Mme. de Longueville.

What, it may be asked, does Mrs. Cock say of La Rochefoucauld? As may be inferred from her fondness for Mme. de Longueville, she has a strong dislike of him. We need not take up the question of how far the Duchess permitted her gallantries to extend, but the bare mention of her name beside that of La Rochefoucauld recalls the difference of opinion between Victor Cousin and Sainte-Beuve regarding the lady's character. Mrs. Cock accepts Cousin's attitude entirely, and thus lays herself open to severe attack. Cousin styled himself the "posthumous lover" of Mme. de Longueville, and wrote as such, not as a critical historian. But the affair cannot be adjudicated here. We must say, with Sainte-Beuve, "Laissons donc cette querelle interminable et toujours pendante entre Mme. de Longueville et M. de La Rochefoucauld." Our sole observation is that Mrs. Cock does not give any hint of there being two sides to the quarrel.

The shortcomings which spring from affection can never be condemned with much harshness, and the worst we shall say of Mrs. Cock's book is that it seems too strenuous a defence of Mme. de Longueville. The author ascribes to malicious gossip many stories which we must consider well-founded, and she is over lenient towards Mme. de Longueville's political misdemeanors. Otherwise, this biography is a creditable one, although Condé was not (as it states) a greater soldier than Turenne, and France did not get her natural frontier at the Peace of Westphalia.

Java et ses Habitants. Par J. Chailley-Bert. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.

M. Chailley-Bert is no novice in the study of colonial problems, for he has written with acuteness and learning upon French colonies, and especially on Indo-China, on Dutch officialdom in the Netherland Indies, and on Colonization Companies under the Old Régime. He has also treated special subjects, such as education in and the emigration of women to the French colonies, and upon the British in Hongkong and Burmah. His style is attractive and pleasing, and there is a luminous analysis of the matter contained at the head of each chapter. While his main object in this work is to compare French colonial methods with those of Great Britain and Holland, yet his substance and point of view are valuable to all statesmen and intending colonizers. At the same time one must, in weighing his praise of the Dutch, bear in mind his Dedication, to "le ministre réformateur des colonies Hollandaises," by "his pupil, admirer, and friend."

Part First of his book deals with the native society of Java. Here one secret of the success of the Hollanders is revealed in their practice of the old Roman policy, "Divide and rule." The Javanese do not form a nation. There are three groups of the islanders, each with strongly marked characteristics which isolate them from the other two groups. The Surdanese in the west are economical, agricultural, and religious. The Javanese proper, who are improvident and live only for the day, are most submissive to law. The Madurese are the most refractory to culture and are fiercely independent. There is but little real religion and scarcely any morality. Superstition abounds and is all-powerful. Slowly, but surely, however, the Dutch influence is modifying that of heredity and Orientalism.

There are about fifty thousand Dutch in Java—soldiers, officers, planters, merchants, etc. The planters live tranquilly on their coffee plantations. Every Dutch city is like a large park, with avenues, vegetation, houses, gardens, and abundance of trees. There is great simplicity of manners with much comfort. The chief aim of life with many is to live plainly and gather riches, with a view to spending their later days at home at The Hague. With so many divers factors, native and foreign, each distinct from the other, government is not the most easy thing in the world. There are the Holland domination, the Dutch colonists, the natives, the Eurasians and other mixed races, the Chinese, and the Arabs. No union of any of these races is known, except temporary ones for financial benefit. In separate and brilliant sketches, the author treats of the Japanese, the Arabs, the Chinese, giving more space to the last, because these present a grave "problem," the desired solution of which is to get rid of them.

Tracing the history of the colonial system of the Dutchmen, in which they and the Javanese made a sort of political alliance, the author shows that the government of Java is at basis a protectorate, and that the Dutch protection is applied to every one and to all classes. Especially are the natives protected against the Europeans. There has been great reform of late years in the methods of selecting and training European administrators for the Dutch Indies.

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Formerly officeholders were recruited by chance among the elements offered—that is, the Dutch had their system of haphazard and spoils. Now all this is changed; the appointee must know the native institutions, the habits, and the language of the conquered people. The new officers are put at first into subordinate positions, until the local peculiarities of thought, language, and custom are understood. From the lowest to almost the very highest position, the foreign officers are assisted by native functionaries continuously, so that the one class depends upon the other, both working in harmony. This is the whole idea of Dutch administration in Java—to understand the native interests, to respect them, and to reconcile them with those of the Europeans. Above the lower or local officeholders, there is a higher administration of advisers, councillors, and inspectors, and, over all, the Governor-General.

The author treats of the education of the natives, discussing what should be taught, and what pupils should be admitted to the lower and the higher grades. The beginnings of education were with the missionaries, Catholic and Protestant. The East India Company did nothing. Both religionists, ignorant of the native language, taught Latin at first as a common idiom. Then the Protestants broke away from this, and taught the Dutch tongue. Great improvements in methods were made after 1815. After various modifications we have the system of to-day, in which the Dutch officers learn Malay, but the natives are not encouraged to master Dutch. M. Chailley-Bert holds that the consequence of educating the natives is in every country fatal to the suzerainty of the conquerors, because it leads to emancipation. The "duty of civilization" and "the interests of the native people" come into conflict. He tells us what he would do if he were Governor of Java, with power. There should be a plan of study suited in detail to the different classes. He would have technical teaching, arts, and trades for the people, technical administrative training for the sons of the petty nobles, and a liberal education for the sons of the great chiefs; but all of this should be in the home schools, and not in the schools and universities of Europe.

A long chapter in the appendix is very properly given to a description of the Botanical Institute of Buitenzorg, which is a scientific and practical instrumentality, greatly assisting agriculture and carrying high and far the renown of the country. The work has an index.

Orestes A. Brownson's Middle Life. From 1845 to 1855. By Henry F. Brownson. Detroit, Mich.: H. F. Brownson. 1899.

Your convert is apt to be more orthodox than those born to his new-found religion, and Orestes Brownson was not an exception to the rule. Moreover, nothing if not controversial, he at once developed differences with other Roman Catholics, and made them the subject of elaborate discussion in his *Quarterly Review*, which he kept up after his conversion, with much ecclesiastical assistance, mostly financial. He was quite equal to furnishing all the articles himself, and occasionally did so, filling one number with a single article reviewing Theodore Parker's "Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion." His first controversy after his conversion to Romanism was with no less a person than Newman, who had made his peace with the Mother Church almost simultaneously with Brownson. The bridge that carried him over was his own "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine." It would never do, thought Brownson, to concede that there had been any development of Roman Catholic doctrine. The concession was a plain abandonment of the *semper* part of the *semper, ubique, ab omnibus* claim of the Roman Church. So hard and fast was Brownson in his new belief—the last of many kinds—that he was always suspicious of the English Tractarians. They were too apt to consider the Roman Church the logical outcome of the Anglican, but Brownson would have them know there was no such logical relation between the two. It is easy to imagine what scorn he would have rained upon the recent Anglican claim for the validity of Anglican orders. He insisted that an Anglican was not a Christian, and needed to be converted as much as a Unitarian or Mormon. The scheme of Pius Ninth's dogma of infallibility was originally built, we are told, on the lines of Newman's development theory, but, as so built, was repudiated by Pius, who would have his infallibility as old as St. Peter, the first Bishop of Rome. Another respect in which Brownson found his new friends too easy-going was that of eternal punishment. Nothing but hell for those beyond the Church's pale—such was his creed; and he denounced as namby-pamby the softening of this creed by his Roman Catholic associates.

Brownson was always an ardent politician, and after his conversion his politics were such as to give no offence to his co-religionists. He hailed Webster's 7th of March speech as the greatest of his life, as "rising above mere intellectual greatness and approaching the morally sublime." The son assures us that "no man in this country was more strongly opposed to chattel slavery." In short, "Brownson and Webster were equally opposed to the institution of slavery, and to the Abolitionists' plan for getting rid of it"—not only to the Abolitionists', apparently, but to any other. The Free-Soil party was "a party formed against the common reason, common sense, and common interests of mankind"; "its leaders, almost to a man, infidels and blasphemers." "Mr. Winthrop, the Whig candidate for the Senate, was not a whit sounder than Mr. Sumner, and would have made a far more dangerous Senator." Brownson agreed entirely with Seward and Parker that there was a "higher law" than that of the Constitution, but only the infallible Church could at any time decide what it was; and she "wasn't going to tell."

This biography is not meant to be amusing, but it is extremely so in spots, and especially in those which correspond to Brownson's criticisms on his literary contemporaries. Wordsworth had much to answer for in "the sins of the Brownings, the Barretts, the Tennysons, the Lowells." The elder Dana had over-praised Wordsworth, but he had overthrown "those Boston idols, the utilitarian Edgeworths." Lowell, in general, was severely dealt with, and his "Vision of Sir Launfal" in particular, because of its indifference to sacramental piety. Emerson's 'Poems' of 1847 was pronounced the saddest book Brownson had ever read. "We know these poems; we understand them. They are not sacred chants; they are hymns to the devil. Not God, but Satan, do these praise." Bancroft's 'History of the United States' was found to be another infidel publication, and Hawthorne's 'Scarlet Letter' meets with the sternest condemnation on account of the sympathy which it excites for Hester Prynne. All his old Unitarian friends were made to feel the lash of Brownson's criticisms, at one time or another. It is refreshing to find him criticising Parkman for his skepticism as to the Indian's capacity for civilization. But Trojan and Tyrian were treated by him without much discrimination. The Roman Catholic novelists were far too lax in their theology for his exigent demands. They did not understand or fairly represent their own religion.

There is much interesting correspondence with Brownson's Roman Catholic contemporaries, Montalembert and others. His attitude towards them is so knowing and infallible that he should have lived to be the first Pope under the new infallible régime. When Newman became rector of the Catholic University of Ireland, he invited Brownson to become a professor of—geography! Brownson objected that he was not much of a geographer. A philosophy-of-religion chair was then offered, and Brownson accepted it, but he had given offence to certain Irishmen in America, hence, to others in Ireland; and he advised Newman, for his own comfort and the interests of the University, to bring the negotiation to an end. Newman did so, with some feeble show of disappointment and regret.

The Elementary School Record. University Press of Chicago. 1900.

Esquisse d'un Enseignement basé sur la Psychologie de l'Enfant. Par Paul Lacombe. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.

Those who take any interest, even the slightest, in lightening and at the same time rendering more effective the task of children in learning all that they need to know in order to become efficient human beings, will study for themselves the account of the work done in the Elementary School of the University of Chicago, as it appears from time to time in the School Record. Professor Dewey seems to have solved to perfection the first problem in education—how to keep the children at a keen point of interest and attention. According to the testimony of all who have seen the school, these children are active and unflagging, and, as a natural consequence, happy the live-long school-day. The psychologists have lately come to the conclusion that the function of childhood is to furnish a time for play—that in play the child performs over and over again, in a simpler form and without any pressing responsibility for having them turn out successful, what will be the serious actions of his future life. We have sadly interfered with the plan of Nature in setting him down at his book and forcing upon him the sad task of plain learning. There seems to be no escape, indeed, from the necessity of cramming into his poor head a vast amount of pure knowledge which will be of service to him in after life, but Professor Dewey has devised a plan for making real work, and a large amount of it, as delightful and as absorbing as purposeless play is to the unthinking.

We have not space here to give the details of the method, but only to mention

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one feature of it from which the idea of the whole can be gained. The children weave, but not in the babyish, kindergarten way; they are taught to reproduce the processes of weaving (including spinning, carding, etc.) in the various ways in which they were carried out by primitive peoples long ago. Different fibres are studied, and simple plans are devised by the children themselves for working them up into fabrics. It often happens that they reproduce, with more or less exactness, the idea of the earliest inventors. The machines thus thought out (with or without the suggestion of the teacher) are constructed by the children themselves during the manual-training hour, and afterwards they are used in the actual weaving. This is only one instance of the way in which the children are kept at learning by doing, and are led to reproduce in their own school-life the successive stages of activity and of thought of the past ages of man. This, of course, cannot be carried out without something like genius as well as erudition on the part of the teacher, even after its general features have been worked up by the enthusiastic originator of the scheme; and it will be long before its admirable methods will become widespread. Moreover, it will certainly be asked, Has the young generation a right to receive from us such sacrifice of talent and of money as would be involved in carrying it out on any large scale? The children of twelve in Professor Dewey's school keep the school accounts; it is to be surmised that the per capita sums with which they deal are very large. But, aside from that, it is a great thing achieved that the plan has been actually carried out, and with success.

The idea of making children learn only what they are interested in learning has impressed itself strongly at the same time upon a Frenchman, M. Lacombe. The keen wit and cutting satire with which the author lays bare the absurdities of present methods will be a source of intellectual enjoyment to every reader; he will also be easily convinced that something should be done to create a more fitting environment for the helpless child, one in which he is active spontaneously and not from being forced into becoming a receptacle for uncared-for knowledge. But the only plan that M. Lacombe offers in substitute is a little too simple for meeting so grave a difficulty. He would have the children appear in the school-room at an appointed time, and the teachers as well. A teacher, or one of the clever boys or girls, starts a topic for discussion, and the eager children ask for more; if they do not, they are left alone in their idleness until another day. But the clever ones are easily interested, and the others are soon led, by suggestion and imitation, to follow in their wake.

It is so extremely desirable that children should be in an active instead of a receptive state of mind during their school years, in a state of spontaneous rather than of forced attention (by which one means a state of attention awakened directly by the subject-matter presented to them, instead of indirectly by rewards, and punishments, and examination marks), that every effort should be welcomed to break down existing methods, especially when the effort is such a brilliant attack upon existing deficiencies as is that of M. Lacombe. It is to be feared, however, that his plan has, besides others, one fundamental and fatal weakness—there is great danger of its introducing an atmosphere of artificiality if not of deceit. The teacher whose first aim it must be to make subjects attractive, is not a teacher in the right frame of mind. Moreover, a certain amount of direct coercion is good for the child at this age. It is a great gain if the child is enabled to work with pleasure in spite of the fact that he also works because he must. For the coercion of real life, which the child is too much of a wild Indian to be able to feel for himself, we must substitute the direct coercion of the teacher.

A History of Modern Philosophy: A Sketch of the History of Philosophy from the Close of the Renaissance to Our Own Day. By Harald Höffding. Translated from the German edition by B. E. Meyer. Macmillan Co. 1900. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 532, 600.

At the nineteenth century's midday, a doubt used to be entertained whether human powers were adequate to writing the complete history of a great branch of science entirely from primary sources. If the requirement is that the whole matter shall be thoroughly well digested, the feat remains, probably, unaccomplished yet. The larger histories of Modern Philosophy have hitherto belonged to one or other of two varieties. There have been essays, long and heavy, on the leading philosophical tendencies of the successive generations, mentioning none but the supreme productions. These have been too vague and too much colored by their authors' predilections to repay more than a skimming. There have, besides, been set chronicles, one painfully like another, each containing a quasi-bibliography of the subject, with more or less penetrative criticisms of a few writings, adopting current views of the rest, and enumerating a throng of publications with which the compiler's acquaintance seems limited to their names and some guess at their affiliations. These are extremely useful works, but no more entitled to be called histories than a gazetteer to be called a geography. Höffding is the first to furnish Modern Philosophy with a history, in the high sense of the word, an intelligible and interesting chart of the course of the main stream of thought, based upon actual soundings of his own, upon studies minute, critical, and mature. Nor have these been jotted down as in a note-book, but generalized with unusually good literary judgment. If he calls his work a sketch, it must be because only the great questions are touched upon, and because minor writings that he has not himself carefully read and considered are left unmentioned. For in other respects it is no sketch at all, but an elaborately finished work of literature.

The very table of contents promises freshness, especially in dwelling most upon neglected men and movements. The "philosophy of romanticism," as the author rather too wittily (and a little anachronistically) calls German post-Kantian idealism and its accompaniments, is confined to a seventh of the whole space, instead of its regular quarter. Two hundred of the eleven hundred pages go to Positivism, J. S. Mill and Darwin by themselves getting ninety, against the 6, 8, 10, 26, which are the respective proportional allotments of the two combined in four reputable histories of modern philosophy that happen to lie at our hand. A still greater novelty, and a most welcome one, is the allowance of 160 pages to the philosophy of the Renaissance. This is treated under two heads, "The Discovery of Man" and "The New Conception of the World." Thomæus and Cæsalpinus being passed by without mention, which can only be because Höffding has not read them, we come to Pomponazzi, of whose half-dozen books interesting to the historian of philosophy only that one of which there is a modern reprint is noticed. We discover how broad is the author's notion of a history of philosophy when we find eight of his large pages consigned to Macchiavelli, whose 'Discorsi' as well as the 'Principe' have been studied. Althusius is another figure not before introduced into the history of philosophy. "The Discovery of Man" ends with a chapter on Jakob Boehme precisely equal in length to the account of Macchiavelli. Under "The New Conception of the World" we meet only familiar names; but the treatment continues to be original. Of the forty pages occupied with Giordano Bruno not one would be willingly spared by the reader.

It was an excellent idea, after the Renaissance, to appropriate a space equal to that which Bruno fills to Lionardo, Keppler, Galileo, and Bacon. Copernicus had been already treated. For the scientific men, however, the execution is not at the height of the conception. It is no light task, even for an astronomer, in these days, to read Keppler's great book 'De Motu Stellæ Martis' so as fully to appreciate the motive and import of each step of the investigation. Yet no work of special science can be more significant for philosophy, in that no other describes with anything like the same fulness all the steps of a difficult hypothetic reasoning; and, perhaps, man never achieved another reasoning of any kind so elaborate and so triumphant, while its historical influence was of commensurate importance. It cannot be concealed that Höffding has no idea of what the work really was. The chapter on Galileo is not quite so inadequate. The author has evidently run through Galileo's correspondence, and has not contented himself with the famous dialogues. Still he does not begin to do Galileo justice. When one knows next to nothing of the matter except what the celebrated *Giornata Terza* of the 'Discorsi intorno a Due Nuove Scienze' discloses, the founding of the science of dynamics seems such an easy matter! The *ars celare artem* was never carried further. It is requisite to have other reading in order to place one's self where Galileo set out, in that state of mind in which it was considered manifest that when we throw a ball, that which causes it to move on after it leaves the hand can only be the rush of air behind it. It is requisite to have some experience in physical experimentation to appreciate the fineness of those observations of Galileo, made with almost no apparatus, by which he refuted that false notion. It is requisite to be one's self something of an investigator to realize how far he yet stood from his final clear understanding of the matter, even after he had refuted that error, though the little-read 'Sermones de motu gravium' come in to help us here. The whole investigatory procedure of Keppler is laid bare to whoever chooses to peruse it, while we can gather what that of Galileo was only from slight indications. Those are, however, quite sufficient to show that

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quantitative experimentation played a much greater part in it than the reader of the *Giornata Terza* would gather that it did, Höffding might as well have read nothing else, as far as his conception of Galileo is concerned.

We can notice in this interesting and original work only a few points here and there selected to illustrate its characteristics. Equal space is allotted to Descartes and to Hobbes. Spinoza gets more, as much as Bruno; and Spinoza is pronounced to be *the* thinker of the seventeenth century—high praise considering that the author rates seventeenth-century philosophy as far more accurate and valuable than that of the nineteenth. Newton, with his doctrine that space is a peculiar entity, receives some notice, which is more than he does in most histories of philosophy. But Professor Höffding evidently has no suspicion that Newton's proposition is less purely gratuitous than the opposite notion that position and motion are entirely relative. Hartley is disposed of in two pages. The other father of the association of ideas is mentioned only as "a little-known author called Gay." Rousseau is treated with some respect, and at greater length than either Locke, Berkeley, or Hume. Kant has evidently been studied with the utmost thoroughness; and a good many small points are made which appear to be new. Thus, the suggestion that the 'Kritik der reinen Vernunft' must have been largely a patchwork of detached papers strikes one as happy. Again, in regard to his metaphysical dualism, several passages are cited whose bearing upon this question might easily escape the most attentive student. Yet, after all, Höffding apparently fails to see that the decisive consideration in Kant's mind was no other than that for which, in his second edition, he invented the most prominent situation he could contrive. But it is curious how insensible some men are to this argument, although to others it seems a knock-out. The chapters on the German philosophy of the Hegelian period are the only ones where a little skipping can ever enter the reader's thoughts. But interest is thoroughly roused again when the more recent Germans are reached, especially in the dozen pages about Dühring, whose 'Natürliche Dialektik' is treated with admiration, and much preferred to his later doctrine. Nothing subsequent to 1880 enters into the *cadre* of the work; and much that is previous to that date is too close to us to be accurately sized up. There is not a word about Renouvier, whose principal work was published in the fifties.

The second-hand translation, though authorized, is regrettable. It has been executed by one of those types of German humility who undertake to improve upon our language and rules of style before they know English well enough to avoid effects, now comical, now ungainly, now indecent, now enigmatic, now self-stultifying, now merely silly. He improves a little, however, as the work proceeds; and, besides, the reader becomes inured to his lingo. A book that in another dress would have been a literary treat has, we are bound to warn the reader, thus been rendered somewhat unpleasant reading. The volumes, though large, are comfortable to hold and read. The print is good, the paper particularly so. Each volume is provided with a sufficient index.

The Kinetic Theory of Gases: Elementary Treatise with Mathematical Appendices. By Dr. Oskar Emil Meyer. Translated from the second revised edition by Robert E. Baynes. Longmans, Green & Co. 1899. 8vo, pp. 472.

The kinetical theory of gases is without doubt the great triumph of that corpuscular philosophy which endeavors to explain the universe by turning its splendid tapestry wrong side out, and showing that it is all nothing but bits of matter moving under their attractions and repulsions, according to the three laws of motion. As an ultimate explanation, even of that which it contemplates explaining, the corpuscular doctrine was doomed from the moment when the seed of evolutionism was dropped into the intellectual soil, since it provides no possible way in which the state of things it supposes, the existence of the atoms and their attractions, could have come about—not to speak of its leaving inexplicable the laws of motion, with space and time, the semi-rationality of which things calls loudly for further elucidation. But the spirit of science (which much better deserves the name of philosophy, or pursuit of knowledge, than any cock-sure metaphysical system does) is to adopt provisionally the simplest promising hypothesis—which, in being simple, is necessarily thereby extreme, radical, and skeptical—to follow it out rigidly to its last consequences, and, by carefully comparing these with the phenomena, ascertain what amendments of the hypothesis may be requisite. In the case of the kinetical theory of gases, no positive disagreements of the phenomena with the hypothesis have ever yet been met with; but, on the contrary, each new deduction that the restless activity of the mathematicians brings to light is still found to fit into its place among the facts, as each piece of a boy's dissected map finds its place as soon as he has once begun to fit the pieces rightly together. There is in all science no other theory so interesting in these three respects at once: first, for the logic of the inductive argument, as it has been historically followed out; second, for the subtle deductive reasoning by which the consequences of the hypothesis are, one by one, getting discovered; and third, for the insight it affords into the ways in which different forms of phenomena may arise in nature.

The work of Oskar Emil Meyer has had a great charm for the generation of physicists now beginning to grow old. They were not, for the most part, such accomplished mathematicians as are those who are now taking the stage; and Meyer's plan of dividing his book into two parts, of which the larger called for no more mathematical processes than anybody may perform in his head, while the other set forth deductions in the most elementary way that the subject permitted, suited those men very well. But this is not all. The first division shows how the consequences of the theory compare with observation; and to see one phenomenon after another falling into the ranks of the theory's defenders, as Meyer skilfully, yet simply, shows they do, is mighty pretty and delightful. This division of the work is, from the nature of the case, very nearly a history of the whole course of the investigation; and we do not know what more instructive basis for a course of lectures on the logic of explanatory science could be found than the history of the theory of gases. Whoever cares to see how explanatory research proceeds cannot fail to be interested in this handsome volume. As for the mathematical division, that, too, affords excellent exercises in reasoning, though of a different kind of reasoning, and exercises of quite an opposite character, since this division is infested with subtile fallacies.

To give a single plain example, the author professes to demonstrate that the mere assumption that the molecules of a gas move in broken straight lines suffices by itself to account for Bayle's law that at constant temperature the volume of a gas is inversely proportional to the pressure. Anybody can see that if the molecules are incompressible bullets, this is not so, whether their motion is rectilinear or not, since in that case there is a minimum volume which no pressure, however great, can diminish. Meyer's wrong conclusion arises from his assuming, in his mathematical work, that any infinitesimal volume within the gas is filled with matter in all respects like, and moving like, that in any other such volume; in flagrant conflict with the theory that the gas consists of separate molecules. In the revised edition such fallacies are not so easily found as in the first, but there remains abundance of game for the logical sportsman.

We may remark, by the way, that this translation is much to be preferred to the original, since the additions have been incorporated with the text, and the translator's notes, though infrequent and short, are always pertinent and useful. The English bears some disagreeable traces of being a rendering from German, but they are not very offensive. The non-mathematical division has been brought nearly to date with all the old ability of its author. There are a great number of useful references to memoirs, and, considering how rich the book is, we are inclined to regret that it should not have been made a repertory of all that is really needed to compare the theory with the facts that have been brought to light. But nobody at all acquainted with the subject can fail to remark that much work has either been passed by unmentioned, or too slightly noticed, both on the side of theory and on that of observation. The author's motive evidently was not to fatigue the reader, or choke with dry details the life and movement by which the work is eminently distinguished. There are books, as our readers know to their sorrow, that are neither popular nor scientific, but fall between the two: this one is at once popular, or, at least, very readable, and highly scientific, at the same time; for, though called elementary, it leaves no important feature of the theory untouched, excepting where the theory crosses the border into the domain of liquids.

Among the special points which will be found important for those who are up in the subject, we may mention further argument concerning the author's views of diffusion, a discussion of the effect of dissociation upon viscosity, a theory of the resistance of the air and of the reaction of a jet, and a synthesis of all the evidence concerning the size of molecules.

Naval Yarns of Seafights, etc., from 1616 to 1831. Collected and edited by W. H. Long.

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London: Gibbings & Co.; New York: F. P. Harper. 1899.

Many of these quaint sea yarns and nautical notes appear for the first time in a printed form. Most of them seem truthful contemporary pictures of doings at sea and in port; and the battle narratives, though short, will afford data for the historian. Such portions of the collection as exhibit life afloat in the eighteenth century are of especial interest, though of a coarseness not infrequent in literature of the time, especially in relation to the sea.

A description of two sea-fights of the seventeenth century is followed by several pages of quaint directions for carrying on a naval action, taken from the 'Seaman's Grammar' of Captain John Smith, sometime Governor of Virginia and Admiral of New England. These instructions cover the handling of a ship under sail in all the phases of a sea engagement as fought in the middle of the seventeenth century. The midshipmen are directed to see the tops and yards well provided with stones, fire-pots, and "brasse bales," to throw amongst the enemy before "entering" (as boarding a ship was then called). Upon a surrender, you are to "examine them [the enemy] in particular, but always have as much care of their wounded as your owne." Furthermore, young captains were instructed, if either young women or aged men were found on board, "to use them nobly; which is ever the nature of a generous disposition."

The journal of a naval surgeon, though vivid in its description of ship life, is full of the faults referred to as characteristic of the literature of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the account of the loss of H. M. S. *Phœnix*, commanded by Sir Hyde Parker, written by Lieut. Archer, who was on board at the time, is one of the best descriptions, in every sense, of a shipwreck that can be found in print. The *Phœnix* was lost on the coast of Cuba on the 4th of October, 1780, in a hurricane, and Mr. Archer, the first lieutenant, not only wrote well concerning this affair, but evidently acted in a most gallant and creditable manner both before the wreck occurred and afterwards. Further on in the book we find very interesting phases of life on board an English ship of war at the time of the battle of the Nile, in an account by one of the gunner's crew of the *Goliath*, seventy-four, commanded by Captain Foley, one of Nelson's best commanders.

"My station," says this narrator, "was in the powder magazine, with the gunner. As we entered the bay [Aboukir], we stripped to our trousers, opened our ports, cleared, and every ship we passed gave them a broadside and three cheers. Any information we got was from the boys and women who carried the powder. The women behaved as well as the men, and got a present from the Grand Signior. When the French Admiral's ship blew up, the *Goliath* got such a shake we thought the after-part of her had blown up until the boys told us what it was. . . . I was much indebted to the gunner's wife, who gave her husband and me a drink of wine every now and then, which lessened our fatigue much. There were some of the women wounded, and one woman belonging to Leith died of her wounds and was buried on a small island in the bay. One woman bore a son in the heat of the action; she belonged to Edinburgh."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Allen, F. O. The History of Enfield, Connecticut. Lancaster, Pa.: Wickersham Printing Co. Vol. I.
Bailey, Prof. L. H., and Miller, W. Cyclopedia of American Horticulture. E—M. Macmillan. $5.
Bazán, Doña Emilia P. Temprano y Con Sol, y tres otros Cuentos. New York: W. R. Jenkins. 35c.
Byars, W. V. *"An American Commoner": The Life and Times of Richard Parks Bland: A Study of the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century. With an Introduction by William Jennings Bryan and Personal Reminiscences by Mrs. Richard Parks Bland.* Columbia, Mo.: E. W. Stephens. $3.50.
Cortina, R. D. de la. Fortuna, y otros Cuentos. New York: W. R. Jenkins. 35c.
Cotton, Mrs. Olive A. Chafing-Dish Recipes. New York: A. Mackel & Co. 25c.
Dagnell, J. M. Love is in the Stomach, not the Heart. London: Marshall, Hall, Kent & Co.; Brooklyn: Published by the Author.
Damon, P. Jonathan's New Boy. Chicago: T. S. Denison. 25c.
Day, H. F. Up in Maine: Stories of Yankee Life Told in Verse. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. $1.
Educational, Paper, and Binding Exhibits, Paris, 1900. Henry Frowde.
Fielding, H. The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling. [Library of English Classics.] Macmillan. 2 vols. $3.
Feret, E. Bordeaux and its Wines: Classed by Order of Merit. 3d ed. Bordeaux: Feret & Fils. $5.
Gollancz, I. The Works of Shakespeare. [The Larger Temple Shakespeare.] London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan. Vol. XI. $1.50.
Greenslet, F. Joseph Glanvill: A Study in English Thought and Letters of the Seventeenth Century. Macmillan. $1.50.
Hakluyt, R. Voyagers' Tales. Cassells. 10c.
Herrick, R. The Web of Life: A Novel. Macmillan. $1.50.
Humboldt, Baron A. von. *The Fluctuations of Gold.* And F. Grimaudet, *The Law of Payment.* Translated into English by W. Maude. New York: The Cambridge Encyclopædia Co.
Mather, F. In the Louisiana Lowlands. New York: Forest and Stream Publishing Co. $1.50.
McLaughlin, J. F. Matthew Lyon, the Hampden of Congress: A Biography. New York: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co. $2.50.
Milton's L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Comus, Lycidas. *Edited by Prof. E. S. Parsons.* Boston: B. H. Sanborn & Co. 30c.
Molmenti, P. Antonio Fogazzaro: La sua Vita e le sue Opere. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli.
Morris, W. O'C. The Campaign of 1815; Ligny, Quatre-Bras, Waterloo. London: Grant Richards; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $5.
Pallier, Emile A. Social Sinners. New York: The Abbey Press.
Persinger, C. E. Letters from New America; or, An Attempt at Practical Socialism. Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co. 50c.
Root, F. S. What is the Matter with the Church? The Abbey Press.
Scribner, K. A Continental Cavalier. New York: The Abbey Press. $1.
Stebbing, W. Charles Henry Pearson: Memorials by Himself, his Wife, and his Friends. Longmans, Green & Co.
Stewart, J. The Esoteric Art of Living. New York: The Alliance Publishing Co. 75c.
Stickney, Mary E. Brown of Lost River: A Story of the West. Appletons. $1.
The Journey of Friar William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-55. Second Series. Translated from the Latin by W. W. Rockhill. London: The Hakluyt Society.
The Living Age, April, May, and June, 1900. Boston: The Living Age Co.
Tully's Offices Turned out of Latin into English by Roger L'Estrange. [Temple Classics.] London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 50c.
Tyler, L. G. The Cradle of the Republic: Jamestown and James River. Richmond, Va.: Whittet & Shepperson.
Waugh, A. Robert Browning. [The Westminster Biographies.] Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

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